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TWO MONTHS OF THE SESSION.

IT is now rather more than two months since Parliament met and the Ministry offered in the QUEEN'S name a magnificent programme of work to the Legislature. In point of fact during these two months an Irish Coercion Bill has been passed, one clause and a-half of an Irish Land Bill have been provisionally agreed to in the Commons, and a Naturalization Bill has crept unnoticed through the Lords. Thus much of solid work has the august mother of free nations managed to get through in her Parliament within two months, or one-third of the whole Session. There has been nothing that can be called factiousness in the Conservative Opposition. The general tone of the Conservatives has, on the contrary, been that of a mild, gentle, and admiring support of the Government. The Ministry has had an unflinching, and often an unreasoning, majority. The hold of Mr. GLADSTONE on his party is not at all shaken. The Irish members have, as Irish members go, been very reasonable and acquiescent. There have been no discussions on foreign affairs, nor many personal quarrels and explanations. But a sort of paralysis, in spite of every favourable symptom, seems to have crept over Parliament. The House of Lords, having convinced the world that it is useless to start any important Liberal measure in its sphere, is obliged to wait until Bills are sent up to it, and, except for the name of the thing, it might henceforth just as well not meet at all till about the beginning of June. This stoppage of business in the Commons is not, however, due to any shortcomings in the departmental activity of the Ministry. The chief heads of departments were quite ready for the opening of the Session. The Army and Navy Estimates had been carefully prepared, and economies rigidly carried out were ready to be justified by appropriate statistics. The Irish Land Bill was by no means a bad Bill as it was first drawn, and, if unintelligible and faulty in parts, seemed capable of easy improvement. The Education Bill was at least a measure which showed much attention to facts, and little disposition to ride down opposition on the back of any one triumphant theory. It cannot be said that any one of the principal Bills brought in by the Ministry has been a failure in itself and from its own weakness, except the CHANCELLOR'S Appellate Jurisdiction Bill. It might have seemed as if everything would have concurred this Session to show off English Parliamentary Government at its best, and that legislation under such favourable conditions would have run a singularly easy and happy course. And yet a clause and a-half of an Irish Land Bill and the whole of a Coercion Bill are all that there is to show for the present amount of Parliamentary work. And it has been a very hard-working Session. There have been morning sittings at a much earlier period than usual, and the House has gone on till very late at night. Private members have been ruthlessly sacrificed, and have had to sink their little motions and resolutions and inquiries altogether out of sight. It has been said that the slowness with which legislation has gone on is the fault of Conservatives who wish to obstruct while seeming to help, and of Liberals who wish to talk. The Liberal press is indignant at the amount of unhandsome talk of which Conservatives are guilty, and at the amount of useless talk of which Liberals are guilty. But there is much exaggeration in this complaint. Are Liberals never to open their mouths, to exercise no criticism, to do nothing towards shaping the conduct of their party? To be in Parliament is a very dull and tedious thing, but it would be intolerably dull for wretched Liberal members if they had to get Mr. GLADSTONE'S leave before they might speak; and if a party is to have any little sort of independence of its leader, surely it would be difficult to say that any party should have less independence than the Liberal majority has now.

One main cause of this slowness of legislative movement is, we fear, that an English Parliament is in its nature in-

capable of moving fast, and that all hopes of anything very striking in the legislative activity of a Session are doomed to disappointment. The House of Commons does such a vast variety of things that it has no time to do any, and the function of the House of Lords is, not to legislate, but to enliven or enlighten the nation by occasional discussions on important public topics. The day may come, possibly, when the nation will think that the House of Commons does too much, but at present the House of Commons more and more takes everything into its own hands, and is fully supported in doing so by the outside public. It is very doubtful whether the House will consent, after the expiration of the present Act, to delegate any longer its powers of inquiry into corrupt practices at elections. The Judges may have done pretty well, but not well enough to reconcile the House to the lessening of its powers. No suggestion that is made for quickening the action of the House comes to anything, for the House is determined that it shall come to nothing. The Committee that sat last Session on the distribution of public business did no sort of good except to make it evident that no good could be done. The English House of Commons has tried or discussed almost all the devices by which other Legislative Assemblies have tried to lighten their work, and has rejected them. It will not allow even Committees of its own body to do its work for it. It has a contempt for the votes of these Committees, and loves to correct them by the standard of its own superior wisdom. The Committee on Parliamentary and Municipal Elections, for example, has this Session reported in favour of some changes in the machinery of election, and against others. But no progress towards the real settlement of the questions which the Committee attempted to decide has been made by the decisions of the Committee. No one in the House cares in the least whether a Committee upstairs chose to vote in favour of keeping up public nomination days or against them. The House, when the time comes, will decide, on the suggestion of a Minister, which way the point shall be determined. The tax on the strength of public men which is thus involved is enormous, for the House of Commons will have the Ministry there at hand to guide it on every point, and will do so many things, and will act as a whole so uniformly. It may even be observed that there is now growing up a sort of fanciful standard of the completeness of authority with which the House ought to express itself, and a majority is not taken to be enough unless it is pronounced to be a majority that will command the respect and obedience of the House of Lords. It may be acknowledged that, when the House of Commons has a distinct and intelligible issue submitted to it, the decision at which it arrives is as good a decision ordinarily as the state of public opinion in the nation on the point decided renders possible. But when the House of Commons has to legislate without much guidance, and without any one knowing exactly what is to be decided, or what principle is being applied or tested, it is a very helpless body, for it feels its great power, and wants to use it wisely and properly, but does not know in what direction to move. There is occasionally a kind of benevolent impotence in the English House of Commons which will every now and then lead to curious and even serious consequences. The Irish people cannot really doubt that the present Ministry and the present House of Commons mean very well to Ireland, and are sincerely anxious to pass a good Irish Land Bill. But if, as seems only too probable, the Irish Land Bill proves a failure, and its merits are frittered away little by little in the process of desultory legislation, this very goodness of intention, coupled with the feebleness of the result, will seem, it may be feared, to impetuous Irishmen the most convincing of all proofs that good legislation for Ireland at Westminster is beyond hope. If the Parliament failed from want of good will or from want of sympathy, it might be hoped that free dis-

cussion, and time, and changes of men and Ministries, might give a better chance some day of securing good legislation; but if Parliament fails because, with the best and kindest intentions, it goes on floundering and vacillating and theorizing until good legislation is hopeless, then the prospect seems very dreary, and the thoughts of men will turn instinctively in some other direction. If after Easter the House goes on with the Land Bill as it has gone on before Easter, it will be almost certain, after abandoning all the other work of the Session, to pass a Bill that will make Irishmen regard it and its efforts with amiable pity and good-natured contempt.

Perhaps the most encouraging feature in the past history of the Session is that the shortcoming we have to notice is not only that of the House of Commons itself, but is also decidedly that of particular men. If this is so, we may hope that those who have disappointed us hitherto will begin to arouse themselves and to satisfy our expectations. Mr. GLADSTONE has not guided the House enough, for the simple reason that he has not had in his own mind any clear notion of what he wanted and why he wanted it. The Ministry have been quite at sea in the discussion of the Irish Land Bill. They have abandoned clauses almost before they were drawn, and have altered and omitted and rectified and conceded point after point in an hour's time. They have not known what they meant or what their words would come to. Mr. GLADSTONE has been open to suggestions from every quarter, and has not had any test of distinct principle by which he could accept or reject them. Having once abandoned the ground of giving reasonable security to the tenant, and entered on the difficult and intricate ground of adjusting by a number of minute provisions the conflicting claims of tenant and landlord, he has been pleased and bewildered by the subtleties of detail that have in rapid succession been pressed on his consideration. And he has received little or no assistance from his colleagues. It is not their business to interfere with the details of a Bill under his care, and, except that Mr. LOWE came forward in the handsomest manner to make a sacrifice of his former opinions on Ireland, and to abjure political economy in support of the PRIME MINISTER, no one in the front rank of the Cabinet has been able to help Mr. GLADSTONE at all. He has not this year had the clear sense and great professional skill which the Irish MASTER of the ROLLS last year, as Attorney-General for Ireland, brought to his aid at every turn of the Church Bill. He has had to be guided by Mr. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE, who has little more to offer than a fair knowledge of Ireland and a willingness to hear what is to be said on it, and by the English ATTORNEY-GENERAL and by the SOLICITOR-GENERAL for IRELAND. In his perplexity he suffers himself more and more to look for his law and his legal views to Sir ROUNDELL PALMER, who, quite fairly, since the opportunity is given him, pulls and twists the Bill as he fancies. Mr. GLADSTONE has a great command over his party and a great influence with the House, but he has not a ready command over a number of men not exactly opposing him or supporting him, but discussing, and the conduct of the business of the Irish Land Bill thus slips away from him. It is impossible not to surmise that the history of these two months would have been different if Mr. BRIGHT had been in full activity and vigour to take part in the counsels of the Cabinet, and to impress his views on the House. It may be asked, if he could have made a great difference, why the presence of other members of the Cabinet has not availed to keep the attention of Mr. GLADSTONE more steadily directed to the end before him. The answer is that no other member of the Cabinet holds the peculiar position of Mr. BRIGHT, or has his special qualities. He could have urged on the PREMIER, with a force and weight that no one else could rival, that an Irish Land Bill with all the pith taken out of it, a mere cleverly balanced scheme for giving tenant and landlord equal chances in a lawsuit, was not the sort of measure the Government wanted to pass. Mr. BRIGHT has at least the conspicuous merit of looking steadily at what he believes to be great and worthy objects of exertion, and no one would be so averse to hurry through Parliament a series of unmeaning, ineffectual compromises, and call them a Bill. Very often this attention to the end of effort, and inattention to facts and details, leads Mr. BRIGHT astray, and makes his suggestions on public affairs unpractical or mischievous. But at the present crisis, with a chief given over as a prey to petty refinements and hair-splitting on a great subject, he would have been peculiarly fitted and tolerably certain to insist on the paramount necessity of keeping some general aim clearly and steadily in view. We trust that after Easter he may soon be restored to his place in the Government and the House, or, if that is not to be, that

Mr. GLADSTONE will, during the recess, reanimate himself with something of the vigorous spirit in which he and Mr. BRIGHT and all his colleagues originally set out to deal with Irish affairs.

THE BUDGET

THE main provisions of the Budget will be generally regarded as judicious. Although Mr. LOWE's ingenuity enabled him last year to effect a pleasant surprise, it is ordinarily a recommendation to a financial scheme that its contents have been anticipated. Those who relied on Mr. LOWE's judgment and firmness had little doubt that the residuary penny would be taken off the Income-tax after the final discharge of the Abyssinian liabilities. As a penny in the pound of income now produces a million and a quarter, the expected reduction disposed of more than a fourth part of the surplus. It might have been roughly calculated that consumers would, as compared with payers of direct taxes, receive a double portion of Mr. LOWE's beneficence, and accordingly the removal of one-half of the sugar-duty absorbs two millions and a half. There is no commodity which it is more desirable to cheapen than sugar, although strong arguments have been urged for giving the preference to malt. If the malt duty had been diminished by one-half, the remainder would not have been too large to be dealt with in some future Budget, and both the growers of barley and the drinkers of beer would have received a sensible advantage. Sugar, however, is a still more universal article of consumption than beer; and since the abolition of slavery no sect of fanatics has denounced its use. Having decided on the subject-matter of reduction, Mr. LOWE was well advised in determining on a large and substantial change. It is not quite certain that retail consumers will profit even by the repeal of one half of the existing tax. The difference of price will only amount to a halfpenny in the pound of brown sugar; and small coins have a tendency to remain in the tradesman's pocket. As Mr. READ stated in the subsequent conversation, bread has not been cheapened as rapidly as flour; nor is there any reason to suppose that consumers have hitherto received a share of the shilling duty which was abolished a year ago. On the whole, it may be hoped that the reduction of the sugar duty may encourage importation, and that increased abundance of supply may tend to cheapness. A smaller diminution of the duty would have involved an uncompensated loss to the revenue; and there is much force in the objections which Mr. LOWE characteristically urged against Mr. BRIGHT's project of a "free breakfast-table."

The minor provisions of the Budget are more questionable than the reduction of the Income-tax and the sugar duty. The proposed substitution of a tax on fire-arms for a game certificate, though it seemed to be received with favour by the House, is so unjust, and in its nature so unpopular, that it will almost necessarily be withdrawn. To middle-aged gentlemen in comfortable circumstances, the temptation to prow about the roads in a Christmas frost, shooting at tomits and robin-redbreasts, is not especially attractive. The practice is troublesome, and it is slightly dangerous both to the youthful sportsmen and to nervous passengers; but it is not desirable that Parliament should repress, by a prohibitive tax, an amusement which seems to possess an irresistible attraction for boys in the neighbourhood of towns. It is still more inexpedient to prevent another class of boys from combining business with pleasure by frightening rooks and pigeons from the corn. A proposal which would facilitate and cheapen the preservation of game, while it restricted the pleasures of the humbler classes, cannot be judiciously pressed by the Government, or accepted by Parliament. On entirely different grounds the proposed redistribution of the tax on railways is liable to serious objection. Since the abolition of the taxes on hired vehicles there is no longer a plausible excuse for maintaining the duty on railway passengers; but the continuance of an existing injustice is more tolerable than a new oppression. A tax on the gross receipts of railways will operate severely to the disadvantage of the less prosperous lines which depend mainly on the carriage of minerals, of timber, and of agricultural produce. On lines which produce no dividends to shareholders the tax must be paid by the creditors, who have already sufficient difficulty in obtaining the interest to which they are entitled. In all cases a tax on the gross receipts is doubled in its incidence on those who receive the income, for the working expenses, which average fifty per cent. on the receipts, must be provided in full. There is no reason why railway dividends, which already pay their proper percentage in the form of Income-tax, should be charged with a second Income-tax of four or five

per cent. which is not imposed on any other description of property. If it is necessary to follow the analogy of the license duty on any other instruments of locomotion, a moderate tax ought to be placed on passenger carriages and on engines. There is no more reason for taxing a truck than for imposing a corresponding charge on a broad-wheeled waggon. Mr. LOWE indeed expresses the opinion that horses on a farm are improperly and partially exempted. In his celebrated Budget speech in 1853 Mr. GLADSTONE more roundly defended the exemption on the ground that horses were as much an industrial motive power as steam-engines or water-wheels. The same reasons which prove the inexpediency of taxing the raw material of manufacture apply to the machinery of production and transit. It is convenient to discuss the tax as if it fell exclusively on shareholders, nor is it possible to define its ultimate incidence; but freighters will in some cases, though not in all, bear the whole or a part of the burden. The great and unequal charge which is imposed on railways in the form of local rates ought to entitle them to some consideration from Chancellors of the Exchequer; but large corporations are tempting objects of plunder, although their nominally collective income really belongs to a large number of petty holders.

The halfpenny Post Office stamp had already been announced by Mr. GLADSTONE; and it has the merit of at the same time affording accommodation to producers and consumers of newspapers, and of securing an increase of revenue. The modification of the stamp duties will also yield satisfactory results. Some persons will benefit by the abolition of a number of petty license duties, and the Treasury will be little the poorer for the loss. Mr. LOWE's argument in favour of maintaining the license on brewers was little more than a profession of implicit faith in the economical doctrine that producers always recover from consumers the amount of taxes imposed on their own industry. As it is no longer possible to assert that the tax is added to the retail price of beer, Mr. LOWE satisfies himself by the not improbable assumption that the infallibility of political economy is vindicated by adulteration. To beer-drinkers the explanation is not altogether consolatory, nor is it probably sound. It is certainly possible to impose on the maker of an article a tax which simply reduces his profits. A graver question is raised by the appropriation of a small part of the surplus to the conversion of Consols held by the Post Office Savings Banks into Terminable Annuities. Like several of his predecessors, Mr. LOWE hankers after a Sinking Fund, although he abstains from urging the direct adoption of an exploded theory. As many critics have remarked, the creation of Terminable Annuities is a contrivance for cheating the House of Commons into an act of self-denial which it is supposed that it would not consciously perform. The experiments introduced by Mr. GLADSTONE and Mr. DISRAELI have been hampered by the difficulty of finding purchasers for the most inconvenient of securities. It has consequently occurred to the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER that, as trustee for the Savings Banks, he is himself a holder of Consols, and that he may safely be guilty of an act of imprudence from which private investors habitually shrink. By the conversion, at an expense of 190,000*l.* a year, of 7,000,000*l.* of Consols into short Annuities, he will provide his successor of fifteen years hence with a surplus or disposable revenue of 330,000*l.* It would have been simpler, and in every way better, to have applied the annual 190,000*l.* to the direct payment of debt, and it is absurd to suppose that the House of Commons would have refused its assent to such a proposal on the part of the Government. The idle pretence of conversion deceives no one who would be likely to take any interest in the matter, but it may be admitted that it is a more harmless absurdity to play tricks with Government investments than to make a sacrifice for the purpose of inducing purchasers to buy an unmarketable stock. No man can be ruined by playing with his right hand against his left, but the process involves a waste of time and industry. Liberal estimates of expenditure and moderate estimates of revenue, coinciding with a general increase of wealth, will produce annually a small and legitimate Sinking Fund. The attempt to pay off the debt more quickly is premature. The example of the United States would be more impressive if the current reduction of the debt were not rendered possible by the maintenance of a taxation which is vicious in distribution and excessive in amount. In general it may be said that the simplest and most comprehensive of Mr. LOWE's proposals form the best part of the Budget. The singularly prosperous financial condition which he has the good fortune to announce will incline the House and the country to receive his scheme with favour.

THE PLEBISCITUM.

THE adjournment of the Corps Législatif until after the plebiscitum has been taken is the most natural consequence possible of the determination to which M. OLLIVIER and his few surviving colleagues had previously come. The only wonder is that it should be thought necessary ever to call the Chamber together again. There is really something to be said for the plan of legislating by Ayes and Noes. What an immense convenience, for example, it would have been to Mr. GLADSTONE if he had been able to put the Land Bill or the Education Bill to the test of a popular vote! There would have been no troublesome amendments, no close divisions, no apprehension of caves. Everybody who was not ready to declare himself against the Government would have been forced to range himself on its side, and instead of Easter coming upon us with all our difficulties still unsettled, it would have found us in the happy position of having the year's legislation behind our back. M. OLLIVIER has now an opportunity of making this blessedness his own. There can be no reason for resorting to a plebiscitum once in a way which would not equally justify an habitual resort to it, at intervals say of six weeks. No doubt this would be a slight to the Corps Législatif, but after the proceedings of Wednesday the dignity of the Corps Législatif is past praying for. A Parliament which votes for an adjournment in the very midst of a Ministerial crisis, a Constitutional crisis—in short, of a combination of crises of every kind—must be taken as acquiescing in its own insignificance. M. OLLIVIER tells the Chamber that on the whole he thinks it will be in the way “during the plebiscitary period,” and the Chamber decides by 193 votes to 63, that M. OLLIVIER has rightly estimated its capacities of usefulness. In the most triumphant days of the Empire the majority of the Corps Législatif could not have shown themselves more obsequious. We have no doubt that when the 5th or the 12th of May sees the Deputies safe back in their places, the Minister will reward them for their docility by allowing them to play at Parliamentary government until the heats of summer make Paris disagreeable. Indeed, he would be foolish as well as ungrateful if he did anything else. It must be an untold satisfaction to a Minister who has to administer a Personal government under Parliamentary forms to have a Chamber upon whose submissiveness he can rely. It would almost be worth his while to insert a clause in the new Constitution empowering the present Corps Législatif to sit during the pleasure of the Minister. It would be just as safe to be carried as any other part of the instrument, and it would have the additional merit of compelling the Left and most of the Left Centre to take themselves out of an Assembly in which they are no longer wanted.

To speak seriously, the aspect of affairs in France is as disastrous as it well can be. All the innocent interpretations which it was possible to put upon the plebiscitum have one by one been disproved. If an ostensible provision had been made for future appeals to a popular vote, and no present resort to it been proposed, it might have been imagined, as we pointed out last week, that the clause was merely introduced by way of salve to the EMPEROR's vanity, without any real intention of making it a working reality. If, again, it had been desired to secure the seal of a plebiscitum for a Constitution from which any such expedient was excluded for the future, it might have been argued that the EMPEROR was honestly anxious to place Parliamentary institutions under the same technical sanction which he had taken care to secure for the Personal Empire. If, once more, he had reserved the power of resorting to a plebiscitum, but had consented to exercise it like any other of his prerogatives on the advice of his responsible Ministers, and with the consent of the two Chambers, the representatives of the nation would at least have had a veto on their own suspension from duty. But not one of these alternatives has been adopted. The power of appealing to the people is to be exercised at once, so as to dispel all notions of its being merely a dead letter. The Constitution on which the appeal is to be taken provides for constant repetitions of the experiment, so that there can be no room for the theory that the object of the process is to give final and exceptional stability to the new order of things. The plebiscitum is to be taken, now and on all future occasions, without reference to the opinion of the Legislature, so that there may be no mistake as to the essentially subordinate position which Parliament is to occupy under the system which, by what has proved a lamentable misnomer, has been styled the Parliamentary Empire. Any one who under this triple operation remains blind to the broad

meaning of the whole business must be a hopeless victim to intellectual cataract.

It is some satisfaction to know that this miserable farce has not been countenanced by the whole Cabinet. Indeed, according to the terminology in use a couple of months ago, it has not been countenanced by the Cabinet at all, for the Cabinet was always said to be Count DARU's, and Count DARU is no longer in office. The resignation of the two Ministers who gave a really constitutional character to the fabric of which M. OLLIVIER was the nominal builder, is the one feature in the case that gives us any hope of a Parliamentary resurrection. The politicians who had to all appearance succeeded in transforming NAPOLEON III. into a passable imitation of a Constitutional Sovereign have lost their time and their trouble, but they have not incapacitated themselves for future service to France. Connivance on their part in the clever trick which the EMPEROR has just played would have operated as an absolute disqualification for anything of the kind. After the experiences which France has had during the last eighteen years, and the similar experiences which may still be in store for her while the present EMPEROR lives, it is a matter of inestimable importance that the nation should know whom it can trust. It is quite clear that M. OLLIVIER no longer answers to this description. He may have many virtues and many gifts, but he is not a man to be depended on. Whether he is the dupe of the EMPEROR, as seems likely, or supposes that the EMPEROR is his dupe, which is at least possible, is not very material to the question, since in either case he must be woefully deficient in political insight. If he thinks the plebiscitum important, he ought to have known that it is dangerous. If he thinks it unimportant, that is sufficient evidence of his inability to estimate facts. Whether he continues to hold office under the revived Imperialism which may again be fashionable in France, will of course make a difference in the moral judgment which will hereafter be passed on him. If his blindness is really genuine, it can hardly be of long duration; and for his own sake it is to be hoped that he may yet repent in retirement and obscurity the blunders he has committed during his brief interlude of power. If he has been led by vanity or ambition to believe that he can divest the leopard of his spots, or construct a Constitutional Government out of such an incongruous combination as an Emperor and a plebiscitum, there is no reason why the delusion, being wilful in its inception, should cease except with his life. The obscurity which we wished for him just now will still indeed be his portion, for if the EMPEROR falls back upon his old measures, he can have no motive for dispensing much longer with his old advisers. All systems are best worked by men who have active faith in them, and when M. ROUHER is to pull the strings, he may as well come on the stage in his proper character as exercise his functions by the agency of a Parliamentary puppet. We say this of course on the hypothesis that France is prepared to accept without serious murmuring the destruction of all her hopes of better things. But the events of the last fortnight are too apt a warning against a rash resort to prophecy to allow of this being stated as anything more than one chance out of many.

THE RED RIVER REBELLION.

THE rebellion in the Red River territory is very annoying, but indignant patriots are hasty in quoting it as a proof of the decline of English spirit. It is of course proper and necessary to protect every part of the Empire; but the Red River must be content to rank in national regard after Yorkshire or the Isle of Wight. Few politicians who are called upon to apply a general proposition to an extremely special case had ever heard of the insurgents or their territory before they thought proper to rebel. It now appears that they are peculiarly situated, and that the grievance which they have risen in insurrection to redress is of an exceptional kind. For eight months in the year it is impossible to reach the Red River from the civilized world, except by traversing a part of the dominions of the United States. It is more surprising that an application for a free passage of troops should have been made to the American Government than that it should have been peremptorily refused. In modern times most free countries are inclined to maintain strict neutrality in civil contests amongst their neighbours, and the people of the United States, except in the case of their own civil war, have uniformly been something more than neutral between Sovereign Powers and insurgents. Their habitual relations with England are not enthusiastically friendly, and it was certain that they would sympathize with the rebels, whatever might be the cause

of quarrel. The Americans are also eager for the extension of territory in proportion to the superfluous extent of their possessions; and it has always been to them an uncomfortable reflection that an English colony lay from sea to sea between the States and the North Pole. Mr. SEWARD's purchase of Russian America was intended to outflank the unwelcome possessors of the higher latitudes, and it may have seemed probable that the Red River rebellion would ultimately transfer another inhospitable tract of land into the hands of the Great Republic. Although it is probable that North-Western newspapers may be disagreeably outspoken on the subject, there is no reason to complain of any public act on the part of responsible authorities. It is not certain that in the converse case the English or Canadian Government would have allowed an American force to traverse its territory; and it was undoubtedly competent to an independent Power to refuse any permission of the kind without furnishing just cause of offence. If the rebels should succeed in maintaining themselves in their remote corner of the earth, it will be impossible that they should form an independent State. They would necessarily gravitate to their powerful neighbours; and, if necessary, the process might be accelerated either by buying their leaders or by sending the necessary number of voters across the border to decide upon annexation. The acquisition of Texas was by similar methods effected with perfect ease; and although it is not as easy to dismember the British Empire as to detach province after province from Mexico, it is undeniable that some portions at least of the wide Dominion of Canada are practically indefensible. It is not easy to reconquer even from a handful of adventurers an inaccessible territory; and the difficulty would become indefinitely greater if the attempt involved a contest with the United States. If any attempt is to be made during the short summer to suppress the rebellion, there is no room for delay. The force to be encountered is probably for the present contemptible, if only it can be brought within reach. The Canadian Government appears to have resolved on undertaking the enterprise, and it would be desirable that any possible assistance should be furnished by the Imperial Government. The withdrawal of the garrison from Canada would have prevented the despatch of a contingent, nor would it have been desirable to risk a body of regular troops in so distant and obscure a campaign; but the colonists have a reasonable claim for a contribution in the form of money or of stores.

The insurgents of the Red River are of mixed Indian blood, and it is not known whether their ostensible grievance is the real cause of their disaffection. It is highly probable that the better class of inhabitants is opposed to the insurrection, and the insolent outrage of putting a loyal subject to death for abiding by his allegiance indicates a belief that it is expedient to strike terror into dissidents and to make the rupture irrevocable. The Red River forms a part of the vast territories which were included in the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the insurgents complain that they were transferred to the Dominion of Canada without reference to their wishes or to their alleged interests. It had for some time been the object of English statesmen to satisfy the wishes of Canada by inducing the Hudson's Bay Company to part with its anomalous sovereignty. It was asserted that the Company discouraged settlement for the purpose of maintaining its hunting grounds intact; and there was an apparent anachronism in allowing territorial possession to be a subject-matter of joint-stock enterprise. The Canadians, like the Americans of the United States, were disturbed by seeing on the map, coloured in a tint which indicated a separate ownership, a considerable region which appeared to them a part of their natural inheritance; and they had no suspicion that, with the exception of the Indian tribes, the Hudson's Bay Company reigned over any appreciable body of subjects. The controversy which had long pendend between the Colony and the Company was finally adjusted a year ago through the mediation of Lord GRANVILLE. The price was settled, and the formal conveyance was effected; but sufficient care has apparently not been taken of personal and local interests. There is reason to believe that some of the servants of the Company who are likely to be deprived of their occupation have not been forward in facilitating the transfer of the possessions of their former employers. On their suggestion, or perhaps spontaneously, a belief was spread among the scattered inhabitants of the Red River that intruders from Canada were about to enter their country and to occupy the provincial offices. It is scarcely probable that the wealth of the district would have attracted the cupidity of strangers; but it is difficult to make any change without touching upon some vested interest. It

would probably have been judicious to reserve some small percentage of the purchase-money to satisfy petty officials, or even for the practice on a small scale of the arts which accomplished the Irish Union. When Mr. MACDOUGAL, the Canadian Governor or Commissioner, appeared to take possession of the provincial Government, he was refused admission to the territory; and as he was not, and indeed could not have been, accompanied by any armed force, he had no choice but to desist after a time from his futile enterprise. A French half-breed has contrived for the present to put himself at the head of a provisional Government, and after some hesitation he has committed himself to rebellion by a political murder. There is no longer any room for discussion; and it may be hoped that the impediments to the exercise of force are not insurmountable.

To a certain extent the English Government may be considered under an obligation to guarantee the transfer of the territory to the Dominion. The Hudson's Bay Company was an English incorporation, and its members and officers were exclusively English subjects. The sovereignty of its possessions remained in the Crown somewhat more fully than the corresponding prerogative when it is applied to a great and self-governing colony. The Governor, indeed, was appointed by the Company, and there was no English functionary to represent the Imperial authority; but, on the other hand, the Company depended for its existence on charters and Acts of Parliament which might at any time have been recalled or repealed. The English Government took part in the late negotiation, partly to gratify the wishes of Canada, but also through a desire to break loose from a connexion with an anomalous system and with the responsibility which it involved. The principal benefit of the transfer accrued to Canada, but England was a necessary party to the proceeding, and was bound as far as possible to see that it was completed. It is highly desirable that, if the undertaking is not intrinsically impracticable, the insurrection should be forcibly suppressed without delay. The possible risk of complications with the United States concerns England as nearly as Canada. A collision or a quarrel would soon transcend colonial dimensions, especially as American patriots would take more pleasure in insulting England than in interfering with the rights of Canada. If the Red River is once subjected to its new allegiance, the Government of the Dominion may fairly be expected to charge itself with the future vindication of its own authority; but until the territory lately belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company has been reduced into possession, the colony has a claim upon England. The Canadian House of Commons lately rejected by a large majority a proposal that the Dominion should ask the Imperial Government to concede to it the management of its own commercial diplomacy. Yet, although the loyal feeling of the colonists is warm and steady, the local Government is constantly compelled by circumstances to rely more and more on independent action. The main burden of punishing the Red River insurgents will necessarily fall on the Dominion, and the late legislation of the Canadian Parliament on the fisheries has already produced counter demonstrations on the part of the American Government. The despatch of a war-vessel by the PRESIDENT, to protect the supposed rights of American fishermen, is in itself perfectly legitimate, but it is probable that the firmness and temper of the Canadian authorities may be severely tested. The legislation over which the Dominion has exclusive control is necessarily affected by the restrictive policy of the United States. Congress declines the renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty, and even the Free-trade party support the system of prohibition in the avowed hope that Nova Scotia, or some other part of the Dominion, may be induced by commercial interest to ask for admission into the Union. The tariff which is now under discussion in the Canadian House of Commons is intended to be in some respects retaliatory, and it will be found in other respects that practical sovereignty in domestic matters involves a certain interference with external relations. Canadian statesmen will not be unequal to the task of reconciling practical necessities with the theory of allegiance to the Imperial Government.

THE IRISH LAND BILL.

ON the eve of adjourning for the Easter Recess the House of Commons began to reflect how very little progress it had made with the Irish Land Bill, and some angry controversy arose as to who was to blame. The real obstacle to the Bill passing is the Bill itself. The main fault of it may be described shortly by saying that it introduces principles dan-

gerous to landlords generally, without doing good to the Irish tenants. An Irish Land Bill that does this cannot be a good Bill, and of course it meets with much opposition from landlords generally and from the friends of the Irish tenants also; and, indeed, we are not aware of any one who has anything to say in favour of the Bill, except that it has been introduced and is supported by Mr. GLADSTONE. The Bill, as it was first framed, seemed likely to be a good Bill in the sense that it would give the Irish tenants a distinct and unquestionable advantage, great enough to counterbalance the evils which the passing of a revolutionary measure with regard to land must entail. Some of the clauses were doubtful and vague in language, but, interpreted in the light of the speech made by Mr. GLADSTONE when he introduced the measure, they seemed only to want a little more precision to be beneficial to the tenant. But since the Bill got into Committee, the clauses have been changed, and promises as to clauses not yet reached have been given by the Government, and constructions have been put on doubtful language, until the position of the tenant has been quite altered from that which it once appeared he was likely to occupy. The radical mischief of the Bill, as it now stands, is that while the tenant is put by it into an exceptional position, in defiance of the general principles of law and political economy, he has the benefits of this position taken away from him in deference to the objections of those who say that the general principles of law and political economy ought to be upheld. No wonder that every syllable of every clause leads to long disputes, for every syllable may give the tenant some tiny advantage, or impose on him some tiny disadvantage, and there is no principle on which it can be laid down whether he ought to have the one or the other; and Mr. GLADSTONE shifts his ground from minute to minute, now overcome with regret at finding his Bill made a farce, and now anxious to get it a day or two forward by conciliating some section of his numerous critics.

It is not very easy to appreciate exactly the probable consequences of the Bill to the Irish tenant, for the Bill does not exist anywhere on paper. There is first the Bill as it was brought in, then there is the clause and a half to which the Committee have agreed; there are the innumerable amendments proposed by members of all parties and all degrees of competence; and lastly, there are the verbal promises and explanations of Mr. GLADSTONE, which, except in the newspaper reports, are not to be found in print at all. But still we know enough of what has been carried or proposed to form a rough estimate of what the Bill will do for the Irish tenant. There are certain unquestionable advantages which it will confer on him. He will have his Ulster custom, or his custom similar to the custom of Ulster, legalized; he will be paid for improvements if he is turned out; and he will have the improvements he is to be paid for made as wide as possible. All this is very advantageous to him, but he would have got all this under any Land Bill that could have been proposed. He would have got it without any of the subtleties of Mr. GLADSTONE'S Bill, and he would have got it without any serious opposition from any one in either House of Parliament. The distinguishing feature of Mr. GLADSTONE'S Bill, the element in it that took the House into a region outside ordinary law and political economy, was the proposal that the tenant should be paid by the landlord if he was turned out, simply because he was turned out. This was the great and novel boon which the English Parliament was to offer to the Irish tenant, in order to make him good and happy. It was the announcement of this boon that was to be the message of peace and goodwill to Ireland, and it is the practical advantage of this boon that Mr. GLADSTONE has allowed to be taken away. The landlord is indeed to pay the tenant for turning him out, but he is to pay such an indefinite amount, and this amount is subject to so many drawbacks and sets-off, that the tenant will never be able to calculate on getting a penny. He may hope to get a little, but he can never know that he will get it. If the tenant can prove that he has been specially injured by being turned out, then the Court may order him to receive something; but from this something is to be deducted whatever the Court may think ought to be deducted for any wrong or unreasonable conduct on the part of the tenant towards the landlord. The tenant has to add up a list of imaginary injuries to himself, and set against them a list of the injuries which he imagines his landlord would imagine on his side, and then to put the result into pounds, shillings, and pence. And the Government invites him to do this sum and creates the opportunity of his doing it at the hazard of introducing some very dangerous principles of legislation, in order that he may be strengthened and encouraged to farm better and to live quietly and peaceably. The Irish are a most unaccount-

able people, and the opportunity of doing this sum may quiet them and make them dig potatoes with more energy; but they certainly are the oddest creatures alive if it does not bewilder, vex, and exasperate them. But there is one advantage which they will gain, and it will be this advantage, we suspect, that will really attract and comfort them. The Bill provides that they are not to be turned out of their holdings until the compensation due to them, if any is due, is actually paid. In order that it may be paid it must be ascertained what it is, and in order that this may be ascertained there must be an inquiry by the Court. This inquiry will be no short or easy matter, for no principles are laid down to guide the Court, and the tenant and the landlord will each have much to say and many claims to urge that are not susceptible of strict proof. This vague and discursive lawsuit must, however, be brought to an end before the tenant can be turned out; and this will be a great protection to him. He will hold his land by a very peculiar tenure; he will hold it until a lawsuit is finished. It is difficult to conceive any scheme more certain to demoralize him and to make him at once indifferent to the improvement of his farm and bitter against his landlord.

It is not to be wondered at that some kind friends of the Irish tenant, being friends of the Irish landlord also, have bestirred themselves to help the tenant in doing the strange sum set him, and to determine some at least of the factors that are to enter into it. Mr. HEADLAM, for example, proposes to declare that any injury to the land arising from the fact that it has not been cultivated in a due course of husbandry shall be deemed a deterioration of a holding arising from non-observance of an implied covenant to cultivate it in that manner. Nothing can be more proper. Surely it is an equity of the landlord which he may set up against the claim of his tenant for loss on eviction, that the tenant has not cultivated the land properly; and to say that this is a breach of an implied covenant is to adopt a very legitimate and strict term of art. The only fault to be found with the proposal is that no Irish tenant would ever dream of using this language himself, or could understand it when used. Nor would the tenant be much helped in doing his sum by this provision. Fancy the holder of three acres of land in Tipperary calculating how much what he might possibly get for being nearly driven to America would be possibly diminished on account of his not having grown his potatoes in the due course of husbandry. It cannot be too often repeated that the opportunity of doing this sum is the great encouragement offered to him to be a good farmer, and there is no pretence for putting tenant and landlord in this exceptional position unless such encouragement is likely to result from it. However, this is the queer bonus now offered, and it is out of the right to do this sum and be encouraged by it that he is not to be allowed to contract himself. He is not to be permitted to throw away his opportunity even if he wishes; and, what is still more wonderful, he is not even at the end of a long lease to be able to deprive himself of the opportunity of doing the sum before he can be turned out. This inability of the tenant to contract to his own presumed disadvantage was, when the Bill was first brought in, made perpetual. Irishmen were to enjoy for ever the inalienable privilege of confusing themselves with sums of this intricate sort. But Mr. GLADSTONE has receded from this extreme position, and has borrowed from the Bank a device for making the inability to contract neither permanent nor temporary. For twenty years, and as much longer as Parliament likes, Irish tenants are to be incapable of stripping themselves of the privilege of doing their sums. We confess this seems to us a very bad arrangement for them. They are treated as babies not capable of looking after their own interests, and lose all the healthy stimulus of having to make bargains for themselves, in order that they may be nursed into indolence by a perpetuity of vague expectations. The real reason why this inability to contract is to be assured to them is that the boon they would lose by contracting is not worth much. If they knew that they were losing something very definite and very well worth having by entering into a contract to forego it, they might be trusted not to enter into the contract without getting an equivalent. But when they have tried to do their sum a few times, and get thoroughly puzzled by it, and fail to derive any comfort from it, they might undoubtedly be willing for a very trifling consideration of an immediate and patent character—a lease, for example, of very moderate length—to forego it altogether, and save themselves the wear and tear of brain it must cause. This extinction of the power of free contract in the case of the Irish tenant is, however, supposed to be somehow a provision on the side of

the tenant, and even if it can be defended by no arguments, the Government, which hitherto has so uniformly given way in favour of the landlords, will probably feel itself bound to carry it. It concerns the honour of the Ministry that it should be carried, and therefore it will be carried. This is a remark that applies, we fear, more or less to the Bill altogether. Even if its virtue is now taken out of it, even if it offers no prospect of doing good, and even if it is likely to do much positive mischief, it must pass. The Government that has brought in a remedial measure and a coercive measure at the same time cannot get the latter passed and let the former fail and stay with honour in office. The Bill is rapidly losing the character of an attempt to benefit Ireland and assuming the character of a compliment or tribute to Mr. GLADSTONE. It is now advocated by a portion of the Irish Liberal press on the distinct ground that, bad as it is, it is better than a Tory Government. We are inclined to think this is the right view. The tenants will in many respects be much better off after the Bill passes than they are now, and so far this is a gain, although it is very much to be regretted that Mr. GLADSTONE has thrown away the opportunity of showing real statesmanship. It might seem as if there were still plenty of room for redeeming the character of a Bill of which only one clause and a half has been adopted; and so there would be were it not that Mr. GLADSTONE has so fettered himself by the language he has used and the promises he has made that he can scarcely put matters straight again without incurring the charge of having broken faith with the Opposition. All that can be said is, that if he could contrive a way out of the difficulty he has created he would give the sincerest pleasure to those who, when he first sketched the outlines of his Bill, thought they saw in it a scheme of great probable benefit to Ireland.

MR. NEWDEGATE AND MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS.

THERE is a likelihood that public attention to the real interest of Mr. NEWDEGATE's proposed Committee on Conventual Institutions in this country may be diverted to a false issue. A contrast has been drawn between Lady GERTRUDE DOUGLAS's engaging and attractive picture of a nun's life and Miss SAURIN's contrasted experience of the English cloister. Neither Lady GERTRUDE nor Miss SAURIN can prove much either way; and whatever either Lady GERTRUDE or Miss SAURIN may be said to prove, be it much or little, has nothing to do with the policy of granting an inquiry by a Select Committee of the House of Commons. There are not only nuns and nuns, differing as widely as Lady GERTRUDE and Miss SAURIN, but convents and convents, and visitors and visitors. Lady GERTRUDE details her experience, Miss SAURIN has detailed hers. The accounts do not tally; neither do Lady GERTRUDE and Miss SAURIN. The difference between them is precisely that which is often found between the accounts of their common school which two contrasted school-boys will give us. In the one case, a good boy, of the Tom Brown sort, has only a rose-coloured picture of school life to draw—all work, earnestness, athletics, and Greek iambs; on the other, we have the familiar unfortunate who is crushed by flogging, "spited" by the partial masters, and the victim of a universal conspiracy on the part of his schoolfellows. The one quotes the head-master's paternal advice and kind interest in all his little round of school life, the other enlarges upon the disclout thrown over his head and the confiscation of his pocket-money. Common sense makes the necessary abatements and qualifications on either side. Far be it from us to say that Lady GERTRUDE found all the indulgences which she describes because she was Lady GERTRUDE. But an abbess and a bishop have before now been found to relax rules in the case of the professed belonging to great families, which they do not relax in the case of the lowly-born nuns. Lady GERTRUDE was released from her vows because she preferred good reason for her wish to be released. Miss SAURIN did not wish to be turned out, although her superiors would have been very glad to get rid of her. The system certainly does not seem to be peculiarly one-sided, even if it is inconsistent, which in one case can, and in another cannot, allow a tyrannical visitor only to exercise his own discretion.

Theoretically, monastic vows cannot be revoked, but the system of dispensations does away with the harshness and hardness of the technical rule. Of the force of the reasons which may induce a nun to seek to be released from her vows the visitor or bishop must be the only judge. We do not see, as Lady GERTRUDE professes to see, that Mr. NEWDEGATE proposes that this power of loosing, if not of binding, should be transferred from the present holder of the spiritual keys

to any Commission; and when she goes on further to declare that every nun has the same liberty that she enjoyed at Hammersmith, she must be told that the word liberty is in this discussion an ambiguous one. The liberty that Lady GERTRUDE profited by was the liberty to make known her feelings and wishes to the "Ecclesiastical Superior of the 'Diocese'; the liberty which Mr. NEWDEGATE claims for the professed Sisters is to cut with their own knives, or by the knives of inspectors, the knot which they find galling. There is another fallacy in Lady GERTRUDE's letter; she says that had the "Ecclesiastical Superior refused to sanction her 'application for freedom, there would have been no restraint 'on her conscience.' Perhaps not; because, practically, in this matter she would have suppressed her conscience. It can hardly be said that conscience is concerned, when an individual's conscience has practically no existence in presence of an Appellate Judge who is superior to private conscience.

Nor do the facts which Lady GERTRUDE produces really assist the main question. She says that she had full liberty to have her letters passed without examination; that she always saw her relations alone, and whenever they pleased to call on her; that she wrote to whom she liked, and when she liked, and that the same liberty existed for every sister in the House. Very likely; but then they were all good girls at Hammersmith. Had this liberty been abused we cannot believe that the Superioress would have been otherwise than justified in withdrawing it. Rules which suit one place, one set of people, one school, one college, one ship, do not necessarily suit another, and to say that Mrs. STARR's convent had one code of internal discipline and Lady GERTRUDE's another, is to say nothing. But when from this violent contrast between the two pictures of conventual life now before us it is argued that Lady GERTRUDE's experience furnishes the strongest argument for Mr. NEWDEGATE's proposed Commission or Committee, we can hardly believe that this argument is advanced except by way of paradox. The Roman Catholic community, as represented by the Stafford Club meeting, very emphatically protest against the inquiry. It is replied that they ought to welcome the inquiry, because it will show what very good things these convents are. Apply this to another sort of life than that of monasteries and convents. It is said by common gossip that our neighbour's domestic life is very unhappy and full of wrongs and injustice. Our neighbour replies that he and his wife are on the best of terms, that his children are dutiful and obedient, and his servants are contented and live happily in his household. Yes, it is answered, this forms the strongest reason not only for not shunning and resenting inquiry into the private recesses of your home and family, but for courting and challenging it. The very simple answer, that one equally resents impertinent inquiries from outsiders into domestic happiness as into alleged family quarrels and wrongs, applies, we think, as to English families so to Roman Catholic monasteries and convents. The question between Mr. NEWDEGATE and those Roman Catholics whose interests and character he is so anxious to vindicate is not what a Committee will show, but whether a Committee is or is not a violation of religious, and indeed of social, toleration. The allegation that the Anglo-Romanists ought to be much obliged to Mr. NEWDEGATE, if not meant as a taunt, is nonsense. *Volenti non fit injuria*, we take it, implies *Volenti non fit beneficium*.

Not much more relevant is the argument urged in favour of the proposed inquiry that so many English people, Positivists and ultra-Protestants, regard monastic and conventual institutions with dislike and suspicion. Being neither Positivists nor ultra-Protestants, we too may dislike, very much dislike, conventual institutions. We may think, as we do think, that the time for them has gone by; we may go further, and say that we detest the practice of spiritual direction which is, we suppose, common to all these fraternities and sisterhoods. We may say that the good of these institutions—and nobody of any sense can deny that there is some good in them—is, on the whole, outweighed by their harm. We may think that the Western Church might be well advised were all such institutions to be suppressed. We may be, as we happen to be, hostile certainly to the spirit, and to some extent doubtful about the working, of the life of the cloister. But to say that the existence of a widespread feeling of this sort, in which we ourselves are sharers, affords a justification to Mr. NEWDEGATE's inquiry is really to forget what religious equality and toleration mean. There are, we admit, conceivable grounds for interfering with religious toleration. The United States apparently do not intend to tolerate polygamy, even though justified by a revelation real or pretended. We should, in spite of the Bill of Rights or the Toleration Act, not

permit a fakir on the highest of religious pretences to crucify himself in Pall Mall. We are at the present moment bringing to book an elder of "the Peculiar People" because, on very exalted and Scriptural grounds, he preferred in the case of his dying child to administer spiritual therapeutics instead of calling in an ordinary medical man. There may be reasons for abridging religious toleration in practice; the question is, whether this case of convents is one which justifies such interference. If Mr. NEWDEGATE and his friends would but openly say that conventual institutions are so inconceivably bad that their very existence conflicts with the elementary principles of society, with the practical recognition of the sovereignty of the laws, and that to tolerate them is injurious to the whole State and community, this would be to establish a complete justification for their entire suppression. This would be intelligible and honest. Persecution or proscription, or whatever we like to call it, always has a certain amount of justification. But persecution by a side wind—persecution which will not avow itself—is the worst sort of persecution. Suppress all convents, make them illegal, hang, draw, and quarter all monks and nuns; this was the old, and in a sense honourable, line to take. But, remembering who they were who resisted, and why they resisted, the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill—not for any love for Cardinal WISEMAN, but because the Bill was totally at variance with true Liberalism—we cannot wish Mr. NEWDEGATE success in his very paltry measure of persecution.

BRITISH NEUTRALITY IN THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.

AS the *Alabama* troubles, which have been for a time suspended, will inevitably be revived, it is desirable that the questions involved in the dispute should be thoroughly understood in England. The spirit in which American politicians discuss international relations is remarkably illustrated by the attempt to extract matter for a quarrel out of the lamentable collision between the *Bombay* and the *Oneida*. Whatever may have been the errors of the English commander, it is not pretended that he knew whether the vessel which had been struck belonged to America, to England, or to any other nation. A light was seen; one ship or the other steered a wrong course; and after the fatal shock nothing was at the time known of its results; yet the American Congress takes the matter up as if it concerned the national honour, and Mr. SUMNER, as might be expected, finds occasion to deliver an inflammatory speech. The proceeding is so intrinsically absurd that it will probably end, as it began, in an undignified exhibition of bad feeling and ill-nature; but it throws some light on the conduct of a more serious controversy. The extreme deference which has of late been felt or affected for American susceptibility has incidentally confused the judgment and the memory of Englishmen. Mr. BERNARD, as Professor of International Law, has admirably discharged an appropriate duty by recording, in a work on "The 'Neutrality of Great Britain during the Civil War,'" the various transactions which have furnished the Government of the United States with a pretext for extravagant and offensive reclamations. Mr. BERNARD's treatise is the more valuable because it is strictly historical and altogether dispassionate. Recent events are so rapidly forgotten, and international law is so little understood, that the majority of English politicians may possibly by this time have been taught to believe that the unreasonable vituperations of American writers and orators must have had some foundation in fact. The few who watched the progress of the struggle with constant attention will find little that is new in Mr. BERNARD's lucid narrative; but his ample compilation of public and diplomatic documents will be useful in correcting or verifying their recollections. It is satisfactory to be once more assured that, with the doubtful exception of the escape of the *Alabama* from the Mersey, no charge of violation of neutrality during a four years' war can be even plausibly urged. The audacity of Mr. SEWARD's assertions and arguments offers a singular contrast to the temperate language which fitly represents the undeviating good faith of the English Government. It may be admitted that Lord RUSSELL, although he had almost uniformly the best of the argument, was sometimes curt and almost ungracious in manner; but his logical terseness afterwards received a kind of justification from the reception which was accorded to the anxious friendliness of Lord STANLEY and to the flowing courtesy of Lord CLARENDON. Mr. FISH's latest despatch is the most overbearing and unreasonable of the entire series; and the English apologists

who find consolation in the formal commonplaces of the SECRETARY of STATE and of the PRESIDENT would have been capable, if they had been Germans or Russians in the beginning of the century, of applauding NAPOLEON's disclaimers of ambitious or warlike designs.

Novices in political study who may have believed that American pretensions began with the cruise of the *Alabama* may read with advantage Mr. SEWARD's early menaces to Holland, to Spain, and to England. The indignation which was ostensibly provoked by the ravages of a cruiser built in England had been anticipated from the time when the *Sumter* and the *Nashville* issued from Southern ports. Soon after the commencement of the war an American naval officer was allowed, without rebuke, to inquire of his department, in a published despatch, whether he ought to observe the rules of international law within the jurisdiction of a French dependency. The wanton outrage perpetrated by Captain WILKES on the *Trent* mail-steamer was officially approved by the SECRETARY of the NAVY, and in a unanimous vote by the House of Representatives. The despatch in which the wrong was, under overwhelming pressure, tardily disavowed by the Government is perhaps the most characteristic and offensive specimen of Mr. SEWARD's diplomatic style. On the authority of standard writers who affirm that an ambassador from an enemy to a neutral may, before he arrives at his post, be captured on the territory of either belligerent, the SECRETARY of STATE argues that he may be rightfully seized on board a neutral vessel; but, affecting to believe that Captain WILKES had committed a generous error in not making prize of the *Trent*, he consents, in the name of the PRESIDENT, to release the Confederate Commissioners on the ground of a technical slip in the process of capture. Finally, he adds, with an insolent contempt for international law, that Mr. MASON and Mr. SLIDELL would nevertheless have been detained if their liberation had been deemed dangerous to the United States. Mr. SEWARD was fully aware that he had to decide between peace and war, and he had received from France, from Prussia, from Austria, and from Russia strong remonstrances against the unjustifiable encroachment which he professed theoretically to vindicate. It is not to be supposed that he differed from the unanimous judgment of the civilized world; but he was afraid that his own countrymen would resent an act of justice unless it was accompanied by an insulting protest. It may possibly have been a relief to Mr. SEWARD's intellectual conscience when the *Alabama* afterwards furnished him with a more presentable grievance. The "pirate fleet" which figures in American despatches and orations consisted of one Confederate man-of-war, tainted with irregularity of origin, although she was afterwards lawfully commissioned. Mr. BERNARD shows by an examination of the other alleged cases of "Anglo-rebel" cruisers that no responsibility for their depredations can be fixed on the English Government. Several of them were merely commercial blockade-runners, engaged in an enterprise which it was not the business of a neutral Government to prevent or to check. One of the most unjustifiable of all American pretensions is identical with the assumption that paper blockades are to be respected as valid. Mr. HAMILTON FISH affects to hold the English Government responsible for the enterprise of the blockade-runners which undoubtedly maintained throughout the war a fitful intercourse with the Southern States. But if the neutral Power is to restrain the commerce of its subjects with blockaded ports, it follows that the belligerent is relieved from the necessity of providing a blockading force. Among the war-cruisers, the *Florida*, which generally follows the *Alabama* in American catalogues, ran into the harbour of Mobile in broad day with a crew of five or six men, under the fire of three Federal men-of-war, before she had taken her armament on board or attempted to capture a prize. When some months afterwards she left Mobile with her commission, she was engaged in an enterprise legitimate in itself, and entirely unconnected with England.

Mr. BERNARD apparently inclines to the opinion that the detention, by the Government, of the *Alabama* would not have been legally justified. Three eminent lawyers, consulted by Messrs. LAIRD, confidently expressed the same opinion; and the Court of Exchequer was afterwards equally divided on the parallel case of the *Alexandra*. The contention of the American Government that the obligations of a neutral Government are measured, not by the powers conferred by municipal law, but by international right, is perfectly sound; but every nation must be supposed to have adapted its own law to the standard by which it measures the rule of absolute justice, and the American Acts are less stringent

than the corresponding English statutes. Under the law of the United States the *Alabama* might have legally sailed, subject to the forfeiture of a bond which might have been exacted from the owners or the builders. The English Government may perhaps in some stage of the prolonged controversy have committed the mistake of relying too much on the limitations of its power under municipal law. It would have been more judicious to prove that, as interpreted by the American statutes, international law was opposed to the American claim. Another difficulty arises from the admission that orders to stop the *Alabama* were issued when the measure was too late. The opinion of the law-officers, of whom Sir R. PALMER was one, seems to have been opposed to the decision of Mr. LAIRD's advisers and of the Court of Exchequer; and if it is allowed that it was the right and duty of the Government to seize the *Alabama*, the evidence of her destination furnished by Mr. ADAMS may well have been thought conclusive. The ship was in fact never equipped for war in English waters; but, if the enterprise was to be stopped at all, it ought to have been stopped in time. On this ground alone can the reference to arbitration, which was naturally refused by Lord RUSSELL, be in any way justified. It is highly probable that an impartial arbitrator, if he were a competent jurist, would decide against the liability of the English Government. Mr. FISH's declaration that the guilt of the English Government must henceforth be assumed is prompted by the habitual disregard of comity and equity which he inherits from many predecessors in office. It is not within the scope of Mr. BERNARD's treatise to defend the right of subjects of a neutral Power to judge for themselves of the respective merits of belligerents, and to express the opinions which they may have formed. The same liberty assumed by American journalists and speakers was indistinguishable from the extreme license. It has been truly said that the attacks on England published in American newspapers during any single week of the war exceeded in bulk and in virulence the obnoxious English criticism which might have been collected during the entire four years of the struggle. Although the provocation had nothing to do with the merits of the quarrel, it furnished some excuse for the irritation which undoubtedly affected English judgments.

THE BIBLE AND THE CHURCHES.

A MORE remarkable spectacle than that presented at St. James's Hall on Friday the 8th of April is not likely to be seen on this side of the millennial period when the lion will lie down with the lamb. For the first time in their public lives Lord SHAFTESBURY and Lord HOWARD of Glossop, the Marquis of SALISBURY and Mr. CHARLES BUXTON have been found united for a common religious object. If it were any concern of ours to keep the Education League out of a scrape, we should certainly recommend them to lay to heart this unprecedented concurrence of theological opposites. Look at it which way they will, they can hardly deny that it is a fact of immense significance. The names we have singled out represent the three sections to one or other of which belong the great majority of the members of the Church of England, and the whole Roman Catholic communion. Between those who look to Lord SHAFTESBURY as their spiritual head and the mass of orthodox Dissenters the gulf can be but slight, and Mr. BAINES's subsequent adhesion both to the resolutions and the spirit of the meeting probably expresses, with substantial accuracy, the feeling of a large number of religious Nonconformists. As Mr. LLEWELLYN DAVIES has pertinently said, to refuse to make terms with a sentiment which can command such support as this, is "like ignoring a natural fact," and everybody knows what amount of success usually awaits enthusiasts whose only notion of dealing with facts is to square them with their own theories. An attempt to make education co-extensive with the nation which rejects the co-operation of the very people who have done most towards effecting this object hitherto, is predestined to ultimate failure.

It is not, however, with the Education League that we propose to concern ourselves to-day. If they like to run their heads against an obvious wall, the result will give us some interesting data as to the thickness of human skulls, and we have no wish to interfere with the prosecution of a scientific experiment. We are rather anxious to point out, even at the risk of some repetition, what it is that makes the difference between the conclusions arrived at by the St. James's Hall meeting and those which we have ourselves advocated. In the petition which the Chairman was by a unanimous vote authorized to sign, the petitioners are said to "view with

"great alarm the attempts now being made . . . to exclude the Bible and all definite religious teaching from primary schools." This seems to us at once an exaggerated and an inadequate statement of the danger to be feared. It would be far more accurate to speak of the efforts now being made to exclude all definite religious teaching from primary schools by the agency of the Bible. There can be no question that if Mr. FORSTER were to announce after the recess that, in all schools supported wholly or in part out of public money, the Bible should be read without note or comment, and no religious teaching permitted, the whole opposition now arrayed against the Education Bill would be disarmed. Even Mr. MILL, the fairest and the most logical of secularists, writes to the *Spectator* that he regards "the British system as greatly preferable to the merely Denominational," and he is evidently prepared to acquiesce in it, though not, to do him justice, "on any other footing than as the less of two evils." As regards their appreciation of their own weapons, the secularists are wise in their generation. They know perfectly well that by consenting to the reading of the Bible in rate-supported schools they will conciliate a large amount of well-meaning but unintelligent piety, and at the same time secure their darling object of de-religionizing education. If they attacked the Bible and definite religious teaching both at once, they would certainly be defeated; but if they can prosecute their assault upon the latter under cover of respect for the former, they will gain the support of that large class of persons to whom sectarianism is, beyond all others, a word of fear. When, therefore, the St. James's Hall petitioners link together the Bible and "definite religious teaching," and oppose to them a "purely secular system of elementary education," they lay themselves open to the answer that the League is quite prepared to accept the Bible, and that the only thing to which it is opposed is sectarian—in other words, definite—religious teaching. This, however, is by no means the greatest evil which will result from the Denominationalists taking up this position. It is their success, not their defeat, that will be really disastrous to the cause they have at heart. If the Opposition carry their point completely, and the School Boards are forbidden to introduce any religious teaching whatever into the schools founded by them, the whole force of that vague religious feeling which is satisfied by the reading of the Bible will operate in the direction of assisting voluntary Denominational schools. If, on the other hand, the Denominationalists carry the day and the School Boards are left wholly free to teach what religion they please in their own schools, it is almost certain that in the large towns this permission will be made use of for the simple object of sanctioning the reading of the Bible without note or comment, and the existence of schools of this class will then be converted into a plea for withdrawing all assistance from voluntary Denominational schools. Definite religious teaching will go to the wall, and a meaningless practice of which, according to the best authorities, the most usual trace is a vague recollection in the minds of the children of detached passages in the history of JOSEPH, will be enthroned in its stead. The power which it is sought to entrust to the School Boards can never be essential to the interests of Denominational education, inasmuch as these can be furthered, far more directly and far more effectually, by giving aid to existing schools. But it can be made a most convenient instrument for the gradual suppression of Denominational education, since it may, and no doubt will, be used as an excuse for an impartial refusal of such aid.

The clergy of the Church of England have probably been prevented from foreseeing this result by a too exclusive consideration of the case of rural schools. No doubt it would be convenient, in parishes where the school accommodation is greatly deficient, to come upon the rates for its improvement and extension, without being subject to the unpleasant obligation of being equally generous towards the school attached to the Dissenting chapel. But the clergy will do well to consider the cost at which this advantage would be bought. It is nothing less than the surrender of the town population. To make this sacrifice is surely to fly in the face of history. The seat of both the great religious revivals which the Church of England has experienced during the last century of her existence has been in the towns. It is the towns that have always formed the strength of the Evangelical connexion; it is the towns that first gave anything like a popular basis to the movement of 1833. To abandon the towns is to exchange the hope of making fresh conquests for the chance of keeping what has been gained, and in ecclesiastical matters the result of such a policy is usually the loss of both.

There is so much with which we sympathize in Mr. BAINES'S letter in the *Times* of Monday that we heartily wish we could

go along with him in the hope he expresses, that the teaching in the schools to be established by the School Boards will be "purely unsectarian." This hope appears to be founded on the belief "that all religious bodies will agree to exclude catechisms and creeds from these rate-supported schools," and that "if so, the schools will be undenominational Bible schools, in which the grand and simple elements of Scripture truth may be taught by the schoolmaster in a way suited to impress the hearts and consciences of young children, without any notion of attaching them to particular sects." That the religious bodies might agree to exclude catechisms and creeds from rate-supported schools, is at least conceivable; but is Mr. BAINES so certain that they would be equally willing to entrust the explanation of Scripture, the most delicate and the most effectual instrument of Denominational influence, to the chance appointment of a School Board? Tell us with whom rests the right of giving the Bible lesson, and we will undertake to describe without further knowledge the denominational character of the school.

THE PARSON OF MR. TROLLOPE'S NOVELS.

IT is an indirect proof of the efficiency of our Church Establishment, but we think a real one, that the most prolific novelist of the day, and certainly one of the most popular, has found in the three orders of its clergy an inexhaustible field for the exercise of his powers. What would his predecessor of a hundred years ago have done with a novel full of parsons? But give Mr. Trollope his run among bishops, deans, archdeacons, and the range of the inferior clergy, and he needs no wider circle; he is never better reading. He returns to his parson again and again as his fount of variety, his surest card, his theme on which there is always something new to say that is worth saying. The parson secular, the parson spiritual, Broad Church, High Church, Low Church, humble or ambitious, rich or poor, learned or ignorant, noble or truculent, has not only something but a great deal to be said about him. Each genus invites subdivision into species. Mr. Trollope has given us a few capital lawyers and doctors; he has told us the sort of men public offices make; we are shown the vulgarizing influences of certain trades and callings; we know his statesmen, his noblemen, his squires; but the fact of having given one portrait of any or all of these is usually a reason with him for looking out for new ground. The parson of the Establishment is his great *pièce de résistance*. And we say of the Establishment, for probably this is an essential condition. The more that people and classes are under social restraint, the more that they are bound by definite ties, the more they suit Mr. Trollope's purpose. He would have little to say about men or bodies of men under a new sense of emancipation and unaccustomed freedom. His genius is anti-sensational—taking the term sensational to imply a state of things where all people are thrown off their moorings.

When we speak of the novelist, of course we mean the delineator of manners, not the propounder of views, whose fiction is allegory. The novel which gives us the clergyman as he ought to be does not belong to our present subject any more than the monster who embodies and carries to their logical extreme principles abhorrent to the author. Mr. Kingsley has parsons in his books; but when he makes the vicar in *Yeast*, because he is ascetic in his practices and eager for spiritual control over his flock, deliberately withhold the letter which he has volunteered to carry from a banker in the agonies of a run on his bank to his nephew, because he is jealous of the influence of this nephew and resolved to ruin him, he puts himself out of court for our purposes. We detect an argument for Muscular Christianity and a married clergy, for the sake of which are ignored the potent national and social influences upon character to which the painter of human nature gives the first place. Perhaps an external view of religious feuds and differences is inevitable to the novelist proper. He feels that he stands above them by the mere act of delineation and analysis. He sees a reason, apart from the right of the question, why men take sides. He is apt to confess himself influenced by liking rather than by dogma. The novelist never dislikes austerity in itself; it is an element of the picturesque, but the sort of austerity that interferes with the ease of society will never be in favour with fiction. Hence the old Evangelical school has always hard measure dealt it; while inner scruples that leave other people alone are favourite peculiarities, inasmuch as they give an elevation to the general picture without disturbing any one's comfort. Of the leading writers of fiction of the century, the first in time, Lord Lytton, as far as we remember, has no character a clergyman. Mr. Dickens has, until the appearance of his very latest work, kept clear of them altogether. His Stiggins and Chadband, conceived much on the eighteenth-century model, are Non-conformists of no particular persuasion. In Mr. Thackeray, who is always ready to do justice to what is genuine in all schools, we recognise parsons of our acquaintance, whether it be the amiable Mr. Whitestock exhibiting the precocity of Bethnal Green children in a charming scene of pathetic humour, or the "bad lot" Charles Honeyman, whose portrait we are sorry to think is no caricature. We fear most neighbourhoods have suffered from some curate as

slippery as he with his landlady, as determined to eat and drink of the best let who will suffer, as reckless in contracting bills, as curious in gloves and boots and cambric handkerchiefs, as lazy, as open to the meanest temptations, and as impervious to shame as that popular preacher at Lady Whittlesea's Chapel, Mayfair; with the one difference that Mr. Sherrick, the owner of the chapel and the wine vaults underneath, would never have engaged him to do the "first business" in his speculation. But Thackeray's parsons are secondary figures. It has occurred to none but Mr. Trollope to people a world entirely with them, their wives and daughters. Nor could any novelist living or past have produced such a telling effect with such materials. *Barchester Towers* is capital reading; we cannot desire better company, or a more truthful rendering of English social life. And his secret is sympathy. Archdeacon Grantley, that "walking, sitting, standing impersonation of parsondom," if painted by an enemy, might figure as a mere worldly bully, but his annalist understands his temptations and appreciates the status of a wealthy, benefited, well-born cathedral magnate, and makes his readers do the same. There is a burly magnanimity about the man that carries off his worldliness; his fuming "Good Heavens!" when thwarted, his landed manner, his contempt for a "scratch income," his tendency to bully his meek father-in-law, his bold advocacy of good wine, "cordially despising any brother rector who thought harm of dinner-parties or dreaded the dangers of a moderate claret-jug," and his loathing of Mr. Slope, "that most impure and filthy animal," as he designates the interloper who presumes to beard him in his own cathedral and in his late father the bishop's own study. And the Archdeacon is not only great in himself, but admirable as a contrast with the dozen parsons grouped about him, and pre-eminently with the gentle, sweet, and pious Mr. Harding—in his line such a picture as Thackeray's Colonel Newcome; with Mr. Arabin, the High Churchman zealous for the Church's spiritual rights as the Archdeacon for its temporalities; and again with Mr. Slope. Mr. Arabin we take to be Mr. Trollope's ideal of a clergyman of the Church of England, with no more infirmities and worldliness left in him than just suffice to make him human. He admires—nay, requires—enthusiasm as a past phase, and Arabin in his youth had "sat at the feet of the great Newman," and had nearly followed him, regarding his worldly interests as a legion of foes and disposed to throw up his livelihood as a point of honour. Recalled to order and loyalty we find him at forty learned, devout, disinterested, but still when thrown into attractive ladies' society disposed to regret some of the world's good things he had despised in his youth. He is, however, too good and superior to please the ladies at once; who, Mr. Trollope is very steadily of opinion, like a little humbug, and take most readily to the lower type. Women, he thinks, are far less fastidious than men; don't so quickly detect the snob under a passable manner. They are taken by profession, are slow to see where it is unctuous and false, and in their credulity overlook all those guides to truth which are so convincing to Mr. Trollope—a squint, for example, or a large splay foot, or a clammy hand, the sort of mark which distinguishes all the parsons really subject to his anathema. It is true that if a man "will only do good to her soul," a woman learns not only to tolerate, but even to attach herself to his personal peculiarities. "Here comes the dear waddling duck," an old dame of real life has been known to say of her pious but obese pastor. But until it can be proved that a good man must be of fine proportions, we think she has something to say for herself.

Mr. Slope is of the school with which Mr. Trollope does not sympathize, and therefore his portraits are caricatures. "I never," he tells us, "could endure to shake hands with Mr. Slope; a cold clammy perspiration," &c. &c.; "and his friendly grasp is unpleasant." Mr. Slope has lank hair, his hands and feet are large, and so is his mouth. His nose, however, is his redeeming feature, "though I myself should have liked it better did it not possess a somewhat spongy, porous appearance, as though it had been cleverly formed of red-coloured cork." Mr. Slope is generally at variance with men, but with the ladies he is all-powerful. He can reprove faults with so much flattery and utter censure in so caressing a manner that the female heart, if it glow with a spark of Low Church susceptibility, cannot withstand him. He has, however, a pawing, greasy way with him which does not endear him to those who do not value him for their soul's health. We need not go into the details of a career typified by such characteristics. Mr. Slope is not intended to be wholly without faith or sincerity, but what can a man do with such a hand and such a nose? The point, however, is that, whether Mr. Trollope likes his parsons or not, he endues them with life—with intellect, vigour, power, and a spirit-stirring pugnacity. "I never saw anything like you clergymen," says one of the ladies, "you are always thinking of fighting each other." "Either that," replies Mr. Arabin, "or of supporting each other." And while this state of things exists, with the world willing to look on, we have the secret of attraction.

Mr. Trollope's nearest approach to tragedy has been in the elaborate and powerful portrayal of Mr. Crawley, the poor, proud incumbent of Hoggilestock. Grim, dogged, unmanageable, under the pressure of grinding poverty, he is still such a favourite with our author that to him is consigned the task of taking down the indomitable Mrs. Proudie; he is the man who puts down Mrs. Proudie in her very pride of place, her husband's study, crying "Peace, woman," and bidding her mind her distaff—words which made the poor bishop jump in his chair rather in admiration than anger. Mr. Trollope has sympathy too for a very different class of trials

in the person of his young prosperous rector, Roberts, betrayed to put his name to Sowerby's bills, and further betrayed to the dangerous honours of the Duke of Omnium's society, and at once punished and restored to the reader's good graces by his penitent submission to the penalty of his folly. One distinction between the parsons of Mr. Trollope's sympathy and those of his aversion is in the sort of wife he accords them. All his parsons are married or wishing to marry; he has absolutely no toleration of celibacy. But woe to the domestic peace of the man whose views either on the Calvinistic theory or the intercourse of society run counter to his own. Perhaps we should add also, woe to the weak. Bishop Proudie's views are indeed opposed to the great Archdeacon's, but it is the last degradation, his want of will to enforce his views, that subjects him to the dominion of his terrible wife, who is drawn with a force and spirit, a loving rancour, so to say, which we believe will win her a lasting name in literature. Mr. Trollope has no pleasanter, more comfortable, home-like wives than the wives of parsons reposing under the wing of his favour. They represent an ideal domesticity; the parsonage under their rule is an Eden. The Low Church party, on the other hand, suffers infinite disaster on this head. It is the scene of that low comedy which is so favourite a relaxation of Mr. Trollope's genius. His hungry, greedy curates on the look-out for 'fortunes are cruelly used. Mr. Stumfold, who enlivens the social gatherings of Littlebath with so much religious wit, and sets the company from week to week New Testament riddles with a view to improve their knowledge of Scripture—who cuts jokes about Peter and Paul "bordering on the profanity of the outer world," and makes the ladies feel themselves almost as funny as sinners—has an awful paragon for a wife. The other ladies may adore his joyous disposition, but Mrs. Stumfold is obdurate and stern. "The most perfect of human beings," as the curate says, but "as cold—as cold—as cold as ice"; and, whether described by her husband's satellites as saint or sinner, equally intolerable to them all, and as impertinent as it is Mr. Trollope's pleasure to make the women who avenge the wrongs of orthodoxy.

Curates must figure continually in such a course of fiction, though generally by way of sketch or allusion, as befits their subordinate place. The Low Church curate has an invariable weakness for muffins—an innocent fondness betraying, we should say, simple habits, but on which Mr. Trollope is severe. It only lasts till preferment comes, when port by a natural law succeeds to the tea-table, and its feminine, buttery attractions. If he flirts he comes to grief, like the luckless Gibson in *He Knew He was Right*, who, after failing with the pretty, humble heiress, goes through such varied tribulations with the objectionable and resolute Miss Ffrenches. The curate of society is of another type. The Miss Grantleys at sixteen and seventeen discuss Mr. Arabin on his first showing himself, and he fails in the comparison with the Rev. Augustus Green, who, having a comfortable allowance from his father, could devote the whole proceeds of his curacy to violet gloves and unexceptionable neckties. "Fixedly resolved that the new comer had nothing about him to shake the pre-eminence of the exalted Green, these typical young ladies sink to sleep in peace with themselves and all the world." Mr. Trollope brings a friendly charge of irreverence against curates, and indeed parsons generally, in their handling of the accessories of religion. Lily Dale and Grace Crawley, after two days of church decoration, have lost so much the sense of sacredness in the scene of their labours that they are almost as irreverent as though they were two curates. So little weary is Mr. Trollope of his favourite subject, so boundless does he find the resources of the clerical profession in its claim on universal interest and sympathy, that at this time a serial with a parson for its hero, the *Vicar of Bulhampton*, is coming out, of which the principal incident is the building of a Methodist chapel at the vicarage gate, and the climax the discovery that the land selected by the insolent peer who perpetrates the insult is part of the glebe.

But space fails, and surely we have said enough to prove the leading place in society, the general prominence, arising from vigour, self-assertion, and intellectual activity, attained by the clergy of the nineteenth century. And yet, after all, we find Mr. Trollope professing to desire the Church's disestablishment, for so we must interpret his declaration at a recent Education League meeting, that what we are fighting for now is the abolition of ascendancy in religion. His own conscience no doubt is clear in the matter, but we imagine it will be a shock to some of his readers.

OTHERWISE-MINDED.

EVERY now and then we receive from America a word or a phrase which enriches the language without vulgarizing it—something both more subtle and more comprehensive than our own equivalent, and which we recognise at once as the better thing of the two. Thus "otherwise-minded," which some American writers use with such quaint force, is quite beyond our old "contradictious," expressing the full meaning of contradictory and adding a great deal more. But if we have not hitherto had the word we have the thing, which is more to the purpose; and foremost among the powers which rule the world may be placed "otherwise-mindedness" in its various phases of active opposition and passive immobility—the contradictiousness which must fight on all points, and that which will not assent to any. At home otherwise-mindedness is an engine of tremendous power, ranking quite next to sulks and tears in the defensive armoury of

women, while men for the most part use it in a more aggressive sense, and seldom content themselves with the passive quietude of mere inactivity. An otherwise-minded person, if a man, is almost always a tyrant and a bully, with decided opinions as to his right of making every one about him dance to his piping, his piping never giving one of their own measures; if a woman, she is probably a superior being subjected to domestic martyrdom while intended by nature for a higher intellectual life, doomed to the drudgery of the nursery and housekeeping while yearning for the æsthetic and panting after the ideal. She is generally dignified in her bearing, and of a cold, unappeasable discontent. She neither scolds nor wrangles, though sometimes, no rule being without its exception, she is peevish and capacious, and degenerates into the commonplace of the *Naggleton* type. But in the main she bounds herself to the expression of her otherwise-mindedness in a stately if dogged manner, and shows a serene disdain for her opponents which is a trifle more offensive than her undisguised satisfaction with herself. Nothing can move her, nothing beat her off her holding; but then she offers no points of attack. She is what she is on principle; and what can you say to an opposition dictated by motives all out of reach of your own miserable little groundling motives? Where you advocate expediency she maintains abstract principles; if you are lenient to weaknesses, she is stern to sin; if you would legislate for human nature as it is, she will have nothing less than the standard of perfection; and when you speak of the absolutism of facts she argues on the necessity of keeping the ideal intact, no matter whether any one was ever known to attain to it or not. But if she is in different company from your own looser kind, say with Puritans of a strongly ascetic caste, then she veers round to the other side, on the ground of fairness; and for the benefit of fanatics propounds a slipshod easy-going morality almost beyond your own lines. This she calls keeping out of extremes, and not liking exaggeration. This is not very frequently the case with women, however; the otherwise-minded among them being almost always of the rigid and ascetic class who despise the pleasant little vanities, the graceful frivolities, the lovable frailties which make life easy and humanity delightful, and take their stand on the loftiest, the most unelastic, not to say the grimmest, ethics. They have had it borne in on them that they are to defy Baal and withstand; consequently they do defy him, and they do withstand at all four corners stoutly.

To be otherwise-minded naturally implies having a mind; and of what use is intellect if it cannot see all through and round a subject, and pick the weak places into holes? Hence the otherwise-minded are uncompromising critics and terrible fellows at scenting their prey. As the function of certain creatures—vultures, crows, flies, and others—so is that of these children of Zoilus when dealing with subjects not understood, or only guessed at with more or less of blundering in the process. Take one of the class at a lecture on the higher branches of a science of which he has not so much as mastered the roots, and wherein this higher analysis offers certain new and perhaps startling results. It would seem that the sole thing possible to those who are totally ignorant of the matter in hand is to listen and believe; but your otherwise-minded folk are not content with the tame modesty of humbleness. What if the subject is over their heads, cannot they crane their necks and look? have they not common sense to guide them? and may they not criticize in the block what they cannot dissect in detail? At the least they can look grave, and say something about the danger of a little knowledge, and man's pride of intellect, and his absolute and eternal ignorance, and the lecturer not making his meaning clear—very probably not understanding his own subject or what he wanted to say; and what becomes of received and accepted truths if such things are to be received? Be sure of this, that otherwise-mindedness must sling its stone, whether it knows exactly what it is aiming at or not. It not unfrequently happens that the stone is after the pattern of a boomerang, and comes back on the slinger's own pate with sounding effect, convicting him of ignorance if of nothing worse, and a love of opposition so great that it destroys both his power of perceiving truth and his sense of his own incapacity. But the otherwise-minded is nothing if not superior to his company; and truth is after all relative as well as multiform, and needs continual nice adjustment to make it balance fairly. The great representative assembly of humanity must have its independent members below the gangway who vote with no party, and if we were all on the right side the devil's advocate would have no work to do; so that even otherwise-mindedness on the wrong side has its uses, and must not be wholly condemned. For the world would fare badly without its natural borers and hole-pickers, its finders-out of weak places, and resisters of assertion and advances; and ants and worms make good mould for garden flowers.

The constitutionally otherwise-minded are the worst partisans in the world, and never take up a cause heartily—never with more than one hand, that they may leave the other free for a bit of prestidigitation if need be, when their audience changes its character and complexion. The only time when they are devoted adherents is if their own family is decidedly in the opposite ranks, when they come out from among them with scrip and spear, and go over to the enemy without failing a single button of the uniform. This is specially true of young people and of women; both of whom call their natural love of opposition by the name of religious principle or moral duty. Youths just fresh from the schools, bent on the regeneration of mankind, and thinking that they can do in a few years what society has been

painfully labouring to accomplish ever since the first savage clubbed his neighbour for stealing his hoard of roots or carrying off his own private squaw, are sure to be intensely otherwise-minded and to understand nothing of harmonious working with the old plant. Red Republicans under the family flag of purple and orange; free-thinkers in the church where the paternal High and Dry holds forth on Sundays on the principle of the divine inspiration of the English translation bound in calf and lettered *cum privilegio*; Romanists worshipping saints and relics in the very heart of the Peculiar People who put no trust in man or works—we know them all, ardent, enthusiastic, uncompromising, and horribly aggressive, with the down just shading their smooth young chins, and the great book of human life barely turned at the page of adolescence. Yet this is a form of otherwise-mindedness which, though we laugh at and are often annoyed by it, we must treat gently on the whole. We cannot be cruel to a fervour, even when insolently expressed, which we know the world will tame so soon, and which at the worst is often better than the dead level of conformity; even though its zeal is not unmingled with conceit, and a burning desire for the world's good is not free from a few slumbering embers of self-laudation and the "last infirmity." In a house inhabited by the otherwise-minded—and one member of a family is enough to set the whole ruck awry—nothing is allowed to go smoothly or by default; nothing can be done without endless discussion; and all the well-oiled casters of compromise, good-nature, "it does not signify," &c., by which life runs easily in most places are rusted or broken. At table there is an incessant cross-fire of objections and of arguments, more or less intemperately conducted, and never coming to a satisfactory conclusion. There are so many places, too, which have been rubbed sore by this perpetual chafing, that a stranger to the secrets of the domestic pathology is kept not only in a fever of annoyance, but in a maze of astonishment, at the temper shown about trifles, and the deadly offence that seems to lurk behind quite ordinary topics of conversation. Not knowing all that has gone before, he is not prepared for the present uncomfortable aspect of things, and in fact is like a boy reading algebra, understanding nothing of what he sees, though the symbolizing letters are familiar enough to him. They quarrel about everything, and when they do not quarrel they argue. If one wants to do something that must be done in concert, the other would die rather than unite; and days, seasons, and wishes can never be got to work themselves into a harmonious coalition. When they are out "enjoying themselves"—language is arbitrary, and the sense of words not always clear—they cannot agree on anything; and you may hear them fire off scornful squibs of otherwise-mindedness across the rows of prize flowers or in the intervals of one of Beethoven's sonatas. And if they cannot find cause for disagreement on the merits of the subject before them, they find it in each other. For otherwise-mindedness is like the ragged little princess in the German fairy tale, who proved her royal blood by being unable to sleep on the top of seven feather-beds—German feather-beds—beneath all of which one single bean had been placed as the test of her sensibility; give it but the chance of a scuffle, the ghost of a coat-tail to tread on, an imaginary chicken-bone among the down, and you may be sure that the opportunity will not be lost. When we are on the look-out for beans we shall find them beneath even seven feather-beds; and when shillelahs abound there will never be wanting the trail of a coat-tail across the path. So we find when we have to do with the otherwise-minded who will not take things pleasantly, and can never be got to see either beauty or value in their surroundings. Let one of these have a saint for a wife, and he will tell you saints are bores and sinners the only housemates to be desired; let him change his state and this time pick up the sinner in longing for whom he has so often vexed the poor saint's soul, and he will find the only domestic happiness to consist in a seraph of the most exalted kind; if he has Zenobia, he wants Griselda; if Semiramis, King Cophetua's beggar-maid. The dear departed, whose being was such a millstone in times past, becomes the emblem of all that is lovely in humanity when a shaft has to be thrown at the partner of times present; and the marriage that was notoriously ill-assorted is painted in gold and rose-colour throughout, and its discords mended up into a full score of harmony when the new wife or the new husband has to be snubbed, for no other reason than the otherwise-mindedness which cannot agree with what it has. Children and servants come in for their share of this uncomfortable temper, which reverses the old adage about the absent, and so far from making them in the wrong transfers the burden of blame to those present, and conveniently forgets its former litany of complaint. No one would be more surprised than those very absent if they heard themselves upheld as possessors of all possible virtues when, according to their memory, they had been little better than concretions of wickedness and folly in the days of their subjection to criticism. They need not flatter themselves. Could they return, or if they do return, to the old place, they will be sure to return to the old conditions, and the praise lavished on them when they are absent, by way of rebuke to those unlucky ones on the spot, will be changed for their benefit into the blame and the rebuke familiar to them. In fact no circumstances whatever touch the central quality of the otherwise-minded. They must have something to bite, to grumble at, to rearrange, at least in wish, if not in deed. If only they had been consulted nothing would have gone wrong that has gone wrong; and "I told you so" is the shibboleth of their order. It is gall and wormwood to them when they are

obliged to agree, and when, for very decency's sake, they must praise what indeed offers no points to condemn; but even when they get caught in the trap of unanimity they contrive to say something quite unnecessary about evils which no one was thinking of, and which have nothing to do with the case in point. "But" is their mystic word, their truncated form of the Tetragrammaton which rules the universe; and whatever their special private denomination, they all belong in bulk to the

Sect whose chief devotion lies
In odd perverse antipathies;
In falling out with that or this,
And finding somewhat still amiss.

THE CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACT.

THE opponents of the Contagious Diseases Act may be ranged in two classes—those who argue seriously and those who confine themselves to screaming. The last class is naturally the most numerous and the most popular; and even the first, we regret to say, has a tendency which is far from laudable, though certainly not surprising, to fill up gaps in logic with irrelevant bits of rhetoric, and to clothe the dry bones of statistics with matter more digestible for the general public. They wish no doubt to argue fairly, but they cannot make up their minds to forego the advantage of good telling appeals to popular prejudice. They are like advocates who affect to state a case in the most dispassionate manner, but who yet keep an eye upon the jury, and know that a little highly-spiced sauce sometimes does wonders in securing the reception of rather unappetizing food. Now it is highly desirable that these two modes of argument should be separated as much as possible. If any one can show that the Contagious Diseases Act has done mischief instead of good, or even that it has produced inadequate results, we should be ready to give him a full hearing; but the enthusiastic persons who scorn figures, and especially the impetuous ladies who have shown so feminine a conception of logic, should be made to understand as plainly as possible that, though they may obtain cheers upon the hustings, they are taking the right way to disgust all sensible observers.

There are, then, certain arguments of which we should be very glad to hear no more amongst sensible men and women. It would be altogether too much to expect that they should not be used at all; but the people who use them should understand that they are placing themselves about on a level with Mr. Murphy as a theological disputant. Such, for example, is the argument that the Act is an insult to the unfortunate class of women directly concerned. It would be wrong to insult anybody, or to forget that many good feelings survive amongst persons who have broken with society and become the objects of general contempt. But when a woman has so far forgotten all the decencies of her sex as to adopt a mode of life which is totally incompatible with modesty, it is too much to say that she is insulted by being submitted to surgical inspection. It is difficult to speak with proper decorum upon such a subject; but anybody who will consider what are the conditions of such a woman's life, and what is the nature of the supervision to which she is exposed, will probably come to the conclusion that the argument is about as audacious a one as has often been stated. The position that a woman who shrinks from nothing else may reasonably object to sanitary inspection, because it hurts her feelings, requires only to be stated in plain language to be summarily rejected. We may put out of the question with the same confidence the ordinary argument from the British Constitution. There have been a good many discussions as to the legitimate sphere of legislative interference; but we may say that no theory can possibly be maintained which makes it improper to prevent people from spreading recklessly the contagion of one of the most terrible diseases known to mankind. If the suffering were limited to the evil-doers a better case might be made out; but, considering that it is a special characteristic of the disease to affect innocent persons and unborn generations, we can hardly imagine a more satisfactory case for interference. We take measures for putting down small-pox, and even for restraining the cattle disease; if we cared as much for preserving human beings as for keeping up the breed of cows, we should hardly hesitate to do what is in our power towards abating one of the most deadly sources of degeneracy of our race. Equally offensive is the argument that we ought not to interfere with the providential punishment of vice. The argument, if it means anything, means that we should not have hospitals or secure medical attendance; and, to say the truth, that view seems to be taken by many people, if we compare the number of hospital beds provided in England with the urgency of the demand. Practically, however, the argument comes to this—not that we should not interfere, but that we should not interfere effectually; that we should restrain Providence when it seems inclined to go a little too far, but that we should take very good care not to prevent it from inflicting a satisfactory amount of punishment. When the argument is stated in this way, we may invite those who use it to tell us how much disease is desirable, how many persons ought to suffer for their own sins and those of their ancestors, and what degree of palliation may be fairly applied by human beings to providential inflictions. And we will ask them further whether, if it could be shown that the Act would be so successful as to stamp out the disease—a result said on good authority to have been approximately attained under favour-

able circumstances—they would take the responsibility of opposing it? Would they, that is, maintain the disease for its supposed moral advantages? If not, their arguments are simply nugatory. If they would, they had better let their opinions be clearly understood. Allied to this is the ingenious argument against the recognition of prostitution. It is recognised much in the same way as small-pox is recognised when we make laws for enforcing vaccination; and we would inquire whether it is not better to recognise an existing evil in this sense than to ignore it. To this it is replied that a crusade ought to be undertaken against vice in the hopes of ultimately suppressing it. We wish all success to such a crusade, though, to say the truth, we think its chances of a speedy victory are rather less promising than those of the original enterprises from which the name is borrowed. So long as the conditions of modern society are not radically changed, the evil will exist; and it is at least as well to know what is to be done for the next few generations. The recommendation of adopting the crusading policy seems, when translated into plain English, to amount to a proposal for keeping up prohibitory laws, which we know perfectly well will produce no tangible results for an indefinite number of years, and, under cover of these, to oppose any attempt at lessening the evil which we cannot destroy. There could hardly be a plainer apology for downright hypocrisy. Or, we may say, the practical conclusion seems to be that we should all become strictly virtuous, and then there could be none of those diseases which are caused by vice. The recommendation is excellent, but it requires rather a sanguine temperament to accept it as conclusive of the question.

Leaving this class of argument, we come to that which is really the important question, Has the Act been successful so far as it has gone in effecting its avowed objects, and, if successful, has it been at the price of any counterbalancing evils? To answer the last question first, we can only say that there has hitherto been a signal failure in producing any substantial cause for complaint. The supposed danger of a malicious execution of the law may be real; but we have certainly seen nothing to confirm it. The cases alleged have indeed enabled Mr. Jacob Bright to ask a question in Parliament, and have supplied the text for an article in the most genuine style of the *Daily Telegraph*. But in spite of that admirable effusion, we may venture to say that they have completely broken down; and that the utmost result is that, after all the disturbance has been excited, one or two women have been rather fractious. The general tendency of the evidence is to show that, on the whole, the women have themselves welcomed the operation of an Act intended in great measure for their benefit; that they have become more orderly and cleanly; and that a remarkable diminution has taken place in the total amount of prostitution, and that a very large number have been restored to their homes. Nothing has been alleged—and, considering the eagerness of the agitation, it is very remarkable that nothing should have been alleged—which tends to confirm the evil forebodings of enthusiastic denouncers of the Act. It is a strong point that we have so far really nothing to answer.

The question as to the diminution of disease is a little more perplexed. In order to understand the results, we have to wade through a certain quantity of statistics, and statistics require to be fairly treated in order to bring out a trustworthy answer. We have on previous occasions referred to some of the most prominent results, and we will content ourselves with a very short notice of the chief points at issue. The returns of the number of admissions to hospitals have shown a marked diminution both in the extent and in the virulence of the disease. Certain figures, however, have been quoted with the view of showing that the diminution was due to a general falling-off both in the protected and the unprotected stations, and that so far from its being permanent there has been an actual increase in the quantity of disease since 1868. To discuss the accuracy of these figures would lead us into minute details with which we cannot deal properly within our necessary limits. We need only say that certain errors, such as the inclusion in the earlier returns, and the exclusion in the later, of cases treated on board ship without being sent to hospital, make the real inference the reverse of that suggested. We may, however, give this broad result. It is quite true that there was a general diminution of the disease throughout the army during the years preceding 1866, when the first Act was put in force, and that part of the apparent success may have been due to more general causes. Since that period, however, the disease has again increased in places outside the operation of the Act, whilst within the prescribed stations it has continued to diminish. Thus, to compare two instances where the percentage was not far different, we find that in Devonport and Plymouth the average entry at the hospitals from 1860 to 1868 was 352 of the main strength. At Winchester it was 349. Now in the first or protected station the numbers were 312 in 1867, and 280 in 1868; in the second or unprotected station the numbers were 327 in 1867, and 346 in 1868. The year of the minimum was in the first case 1868, or the last year of the return; in the other 1866, since which it has again risen. A similar result is visible in almost every case, so that the disease which rose in the unprotected stations remained stationary or decidedly diminished in the protected; and the same result will be still plainer, so far as we can judge from the reports hitherto published, in 1869. The figures obtainable as to the virulence of the disease seem to be still more decisive. Thus, for example, we find that in the Royal Albert Hospital at Devonport the number of days during which women were detained in the six half-years to October 1, 1869, were

respectively 125, 85, 76, 90, 54, and 66; and in the last quarter of 1869 they were only 42 days. So far as we have been enabled to examine the returns the same result is generally evident. It must, however, be remarked, that the time during which the Act has been in operation, the cures effected, and the accommodation provided, are all too limited to bring out perfectly satisfactory results. It would be preferable if we could obtain the results of experiments tried for longer periods and over more extended areas. Miss Garrett, in her very able letter in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, quoted for this purpose certain statistics from the French army. A reply was made by a writer, under the signature of "Justina," pointing out that the difference in the system of treatment affected the accuracy of her conclusions. Men are sent to hospital in England for cases which in France would be treated in barracks. This is true, and the ambiguity has been remarked by the French authorities themselves, who also give a more satisfactory mode of comparison. From their report we learn that the loss of the mean effective strength of the French army, owing to this cause, amounted to 4.05 days in 1862. The loss owing to the same cause of the English army was 8.12 days. In 1866 the French army lost 2.89 days, and the English army 5.90 days. In the Belgian army, again, during the six years ending 1868, the loss was 2.96 days, whilst the loss to the English army for the same period was over six days. The figures would seem to show conclusively that the foreign system, to which there are many serious objections, succeeds at any rate in reducing the quantity of disease by an amount well worth considering. The main argument of a really important kind, alleged by the opponents of the Act, is that the attempt to enforce a strict system of regulation ends in producing a large amount of clandestine prostitution. We certainly do not deny this, and indeed it is a danger worthy of serious consideration; it indicates the real limit to legislative interference, and the importance of keeping strictly in mind that legislation should be directed strictly to the diminution of disease, and not endeavour to enforce morality by impracticable severity. Nothing can be plainer than that a carrying out of the "crusading" policy into its legitimate consequences may end by increasing the evils which we desire to limit. Yet it is worth notice that, with all the mischiefs fairly attributable to the French system, it does in fact appear to make the disease less prevalent than it is in England.

The evidence in favour of the Act seems to us to be exceedingly strong; and if the question is decided by legitimate arguments, we can feel little doubt of the result. We are, however, perfectly willing to admit that fuller evidence is desirable. If the opponents of the Act demand an impartial investigation, and a publication of all the figures bearing upon the subject, we should be perfectly ready to agree with them. It is not easy to exaggerate the importance of the subject, and we are convinced that if Government should produce the facts of which it is in possession, much light will be thrown upon the inquiry; and if, as we fully anticipate, the result should be the establishment of the truth that disease has been materially diminished, and the women decidedly benefited, we should hope that the policy already adopted would be gradually extended. Few objects would be more worthy of the attention of a statesman than that of opposing limits to the insidious encroachments of a specially virulent disease.

REPRESENTATION OF LABOUR.

THE modesty of the English working-man is as conspicuous as the discretion of his friends, and their zeal is as notable as their discretion. His requirements are as simple as they are comprehensive. He wishes to have the power of fixing the rate of wages according to his own standard of enjoyment, and, having fixed the wages, to fix also the time of work, or rather his own right of determining it on any occasion that may arise. Next, he desires to protect his supposed rights against the invasion both of competing labour and of adverse prices. Everything that he consumes he naturally wishes to have at the cheapest possible rate; every claim that conflicts with his own he as naturally seeks to exclude either by force or by law. He has not done badly, so far as he has as yet gone, towards the attainment of his ends. He has contrived to dismay capitalists and hamper employers by the machinery of his Unions. In doing this, he has, it is true, helped on the destruction of one or two flourishing trades, and has consigned many of his own class to idle indigence. But he is perhaps right in regarding this as a doubtful, or, at any rate, as an unimportant, evil. For there is in London at least such an abundance of excursive charity, that money is burning in the pockets of hundreds to meet the wants of the improvident and the extravagant. He has but to go to a needy parish at the East-End, take a wretched tenement, and forthwith an impulsive benevolence will swell the subscription-lists of the West-End in his behalf. The leisure which he has obtained by closing the works of his employer he will combine with pleasures unknown to the inmate of the poor-house, and reserved only for the more devoted champions of Unionism. When the winter of his discontent is past, he will find some yard or factory not yet closed by the noble thirst for impossible wages, and will again enjoy a transient season of beer, spirits, and tobacco. When that comes to an end, he will recur to sensation paragraphs of manufacturing distress, and vary the idleness of mendicacy by the active excitement of picketing. Can a life like this be said to be without its rights, its pleasures, and its gains?

Yet we learn to our surprise that the British workman is still unsatisfied. Powerful though he be, he wishes to become more powerful still. He has persuaded himself, and his friends profess to share his conviction, that he ought to be a member of Parliament. Considering what his life now is, it is difficult to imagine how his position or his pleasures could be improved by this additional privilege. If, indeed, there were a fair prospect of paying poor members of Parliament a salary of 500*l.* or 600*l.* a year, the ambition of the aspiring operative would be intelligible. But the proposals which fitted in the general haze of the last debate on the subject leave no hope of a higher scale of payment than 150*l.* or 200*l.* a year—a sum which, though beyond the hopes of many incumbents of English parishes, is but a trifle in the budget of prospective Unionism. Nor can we suppose that the working-man who wants a seat in Parliament, or whose friends want it for him, cares much about the dignity of the station. Probably, from what he has seen of members and candidates, he has no idea that there is any dignity attached to membership. A rich employer, bawling on a hustings to catch votes, is not a much more dignified person than an employer huckstering with the leaders of a strike in a warehouse or a counting house. And working-men generally know too well the humorous tendencies of their "pals" to provoke gratuitously the chaff which would assail a candidate in a fustian jacket. It is even less possible that feminine vanity should have prompted so abnormal an ambition. The ambition of Alderman Buggins's wife, or Common Councillor Jones's wife, to see her husband in Parliament is intelligible enough. Mrs. Jones and Mrs. Buggins have polite proclivities. They yearn to exchange the vulgar civilities of City life for the courtly amenities of the West-End. They have had enough of the Companies, the Livery, the Mansion House, and Guildhall. They pant for a society which does not smell of cheese, sugar, and brokerage. They die to rub elbows with the fine ladies whose occasional visits to the East have excited in them a desire for more close and frequent communion with the West. They long to bring the rising Joneses and Bugginses within the magic pale where the golden sons and daughters of fashion float. Should Buggins become Lord Mayor, and a Prince of Wales be born or married during his Mayoralty, the darling wish of the female Buggins will be realized by the honour of a baronetcy. But the chances against the double event are manifold; and as for Jones, he is not even an Alderman. But the honours which the civic chair might bring are almost equally appurtenant to a seat in Parliament. Therefore, when Jones is heard exhaling h's, and Buggins doubling his negatives over the heads of a shouting mob on nomination-day, the intelligent questioner, who wonders why either of the greasy citizens wants to get into Parliament, is fairly silenced by the answer that their wives are equally prolific and ambitious on behalf of their offspring. But no such motive sways the minds of those excellent but untidy women whose artisan husbands mould them to conjugal docility by a seasonable kick or well-aimed "facer." They have no yearnings for Mayfair glories and Mayfair rivalries. To them the elevation of their husbands would be as painfully irksome as it ought to be to many of the wives of existing metropolitan members, of whom Lord Palmerston used to say that they looked as if they had been made by contract. What then is it that impels these worthies to court or envy Parliamentary honours?

If the answer were truly made, it would probably take the form of an explanatory comment on the paragraph in Monday's *Times* which contained the report of the new movement. It is not primarily the working-man, but his friends, who think that he is wrongfully excluded from Parliament. The Advanced Liberals, like Sir C. Dilke and Mr. Mill, naturally take up this cause, because it startles by its novelty and its superfluity. Parliament is supposed to unite the collective knowledge and wisdom of the country for the discussion of public affairs. It contains within its body men whom reading and travel have made familiar with foreign policy, and others whom practice and experience have made familiar with domestic policy. There are in it men who, if they are too young for the administration, are not too young for the study, of public business; whom a short experience will soon enable to turn a study, long ago commenced, to practical purposes. The House of Commons contains men who are personally and directly interested in the commerce, the agriculture, the manufactures, the law, the civil administration of the country. Every great interest has its representative in it. What more can be added to its knowledge or its powers by the presence of another class, it is difficult to imagine. Mr. Mill, who of late years has been growing in illogical vigour, would be puzzled to explain what new element is wanting to the House of Commons, and that any new element could bring to it greater powers of legislative usefulness. Even he can hardly be supposed to imagine that either the cause of education or the cause of free-trade would gain by the admission of the typical working-man. The resolutions passed in Holland Street, Kensington, claim a greater recognition of the rights of labour to direct Parliamentary representation. What does this mean? Surely Household Suffrage recognises this right sufficiently; and, if it does not, what else could? In many of the boroughs the operative classes are a preponderant majority, and, if they chose, might return one of their own body to Parliament. If they do not exercise this power, we must infer that the bulk of the working-men see no good reason for claiming it. They had the opportunity at Southwark and again at Bristol; and they were content to forego it at both places. It may be that they are

indifferent to the elevation of a few of their own rank; or that they would be jealous of them. It is more probable that they have sense to discern the baselessness of the claim put forth on their behalf. Though they may despise the cant of those who are perpetually appealing to their sympathies as working-men, most of them do know that many other classes beside their own have just as strong a claim as to direct representation as themselves. If masons, shoemakers, and other mechanics are to be directly represented in Parliament, why should not curates, attorneys' clerks, and shopmen? The managing clerk in a great attorney's house, or the curate of a London parish, goes through twice as much wear and tear as an ordinary carpenter or house-painter, and is not better paid on the whole. If direct Parliamentary representation would improve their position, they both have as much a right to it as any mechanics. If an agitation is to be set on foot for the grievances of classes, these are classes which may not have greater wrongs to redress than the operatives, but which certainly would have a better chance of carrying elections under existing circumstances. What power, for instance, could at present resist the combined influence of the body of attorneys, if they wanted to return their own members for one-third of the boroughs of England?

The attorneys, whose power of manipulating elections probably exceeds that of any other class, will never combine for such a purpose; and why? Because they know that any success of the kind could only be temporary, and, in the end, would excite a counter agitation against themselves. The country would not stand an attorney House of Commons. Neither would it stand a bricklayer and mason House of Commons. If such a House were elected once, its momentary existence would either be destroyed by ridicule, or would end in the creation of a personal despotism which many people profess to regard as rather a good thing than otherwise. Whether it be a good or a bad thing, nothing is so likely to bring it about as a Parliament constituted of classes, and, mainly, of inferior or unqualified classes.

But the movement is dishonest. It is proposed, but not intended, to send real working-men into Parliament. Neither Mr. Applegarth, nor Mr. Potter, nor Mr. Odger would be working-men after their election. They would simply be delegates of working-men, sent by them to represent their interests, and paid by them during good behaviour; that is, as long as they pleased the majority of those who led the Trade-unions. If they have the full confidence of the working-men, they can be elected already; and it is only one more proof of the absence of all sense of humour in "earnest" men like Sir C. Dilke and Mr. Mill, that they really think it worth while to issue a solemn Bull, enjoining middle-class Liberals to second the appeals of so-called operatives, who as soon as they got into Parliament would be confounded in the general ruck of middle-class members, and would be a degree more unbending to their constituents than the bulk of Parliamentary capitalists.

THE COUNCIL AT EASTER.

WHETHER or not the sittings of the Council are entirely suspended during Holy Week we have no certain information. But it may safely be presumed that the elaborate ceremonies of the season, which always attract so large a concourse of visitors to Rome, will not leave the Fathers much leisure for active work. If the latest reports may be trusted, a "solemn session" is promised for Low Sunday, to promulgate the *Schema de Fide*, which appears now to have been almost unanimously passed, 515 bishops voting for it unreservedly and 83 conditionally. This, if it is held, will be only the third solemn session since the opening of the Council, more than four months ago, and the first in which any real business has been done. On December 8, the Pope solemnly opened the Council with the appointed ceremonies, and a month later, on the Epiphany, a second solemn session was held, when the bishops were sworn to the creed of Pius IV.; since which there have been only General Congregations for the transactions of business, which has been transacted something after the fashion of Penelope's web. The five *Schemata* which have been as yet laid before the Fathers have been torn to shreds by the criticisms of the Opposition, and then returned for revision to the Commissions which drew them up. The first *Schema* discussed was that on Rationalism (*de Fide*), and the Archbishop of Halifax, who spoke second in the debate, said, "The Pope's propositions should be buried with honour." This *Schema* alone has appeared in a revised form—which gave occasion to even fiercer disputes than the original document—and the *proemium* was not passed till after further revision, and then against a minority of twenty-six, whose objections, however, were only to the tone, not the matter, of the document. This is all the actual work that has been accomplished as yet by the Council. And, so far, its history was summed up with epigrammatic terseness by Archbishop Kenrick, of St. Louis, who made the first speech in the Council, when he said the other day, before a large company, "We have done nothing at all, and that is a great deal." It is "a great deal," from the point of view of the Opposition, because the Council which in four months has done nothing was intended in three weeks to revolutionize the doctrine and discipline of the Church. At the first Congregation Papal infallibility was to be carried "by inspiration," at the suggestion of Archbishop Manning—a plot only defeated through the firmness of the Archbishop of Paris, who told the Legates he would at once retire if such a thing was

attempted. The erection of the Syllabus and the Assumption into articles of faith would follow as a matter of course, and so the Council, having discharged its rôle, and "put an end, once for all, to the division among Catholics," by ostracizing all but Ultramontanes—having also put an end to the line of Œcumenical Councils, which for the future would be superfluous, if not impossible—was to be dissolved, and the reign of Papal autocracy, pure and simple, to commence amid the plaudits of "all true Catholics," and the willing or enforced submission of a conquered world. Such was the programme traced out by the *Civiltà Cattolica* and its parasites, to have frustrated which appears to the Archbishop of St. Louis to be "a great deal."

At the same time it must be remembered that, if the Council itself has done next to nothing directly, except reject four *Schemata* and pass one, it has indirectly done much, though not altogether of the kind desired by its promoters. Its very inaction has given public and obtrusive evidence of a division among the episcopate very prejudicial to existing Papal claims. Nor is this all. Both parties have been forced to show their hands in a way in which neither—especially the Liberal Catholics—would have ventured to do so except on such an emergency. At the very beginning, by a Bull dated November 27, the Pope assumed to himself the exclusive right to initiate all measures, though the privilege was conceded as a favour to the bishops under certain specified conditions. And he claimed and exercised the right of naming not only the presiding Legates and other officers of the Council, but the presidents of all the four Commissions entrusted with the preparation of documents to be submitted to it. And if this was regarded as an innovation on previous practice, still more startling was the Constitution issued December 4, just before the opening of the Council, which ordained, "notwithstanding any other special or general Apostolic Constitution published in Universal Councils," and in the face of the practice as well as the famous decree of Constance, asserting the superiority of Councils to Popes—that in case of the Pope's death during its sessions, the Council should be *ipso facto* suspended till the new Pope, elected by the Cardinals and by them only, should see fit to reassemble it. This, like the Bull of Reserved Censures, which followed soon afterwards, and when the Council was in full session, but which was issued by the sole authority of the Pope without being even submitted to the Fathers for comment or approval, was an implicit assertion of the superiority of Popes to Councils. These proceedings, combined with the personal attitude of Pius IX., who has missed no opportunity of exercising what would be called in political matters undue influence, both by threats and promises, induced a bitterness of feeling among the bishops which has no doubt been very effective in consolidating the forces and bracing up the energies of the Opposition. In the course of January two important memorials were addressed to the Pope, one signed by a considerable body of German bishops, headed by Cardinal Schwarzenberg, the other signed by between one and two hundred of the Fathers. The first was a protest against the original regulations for the transaction of business, demanding the restitution to the bishops of the rights belonging to them by divine institution, and recognised at the Council of Trent; the second was the protest against the new dogma. No answer was returned to either address, but the fresh batch of regulations issued in February was in some important respects much more objectionable than the first, as we explained last week, and the design of bringing forward the infallibilist dogma has certainly not at present been abandoned. On minor but very significant incidents, such as the Pope's conduct towards the Patriarch of Babylon and in regard to Montalembert, or the speeches of Bishop Strossmayer and their reception in the Council, we need not dwell here. They will be fresh in the memory of our readers. But by far the most momentous results of the Council hitherto are those which have not occurred within the transept of St. Peter's or the walls of Rome.

We observed just now that the four months' inaction of the synod had brought to light a vast diversity of sentiment among the assembled prelates, and we might have added that, while large numbers are ranged on one side, it has been conspicuously shown that intellect, learning, and genius are, almost without an exception, arrayed on the other. Bishop Ketteler, who is still halting between two opinions, must, we suppose, be placed in a category by himself. As far as the names of the leaders are publicly known, we should be disposed to say that the superiority of the minority is no less conspicuous as regards religious earnestness. But what is even more striking than the dissensions among the prelates themselves, and what looks to an outsider like a decisive proof of the indiscretion of the policy of the Curia, is the manifestation of Catholic opinion throughout Europe to which the convocation of the Council and the manner of conducting its proceedings have given rise. If there was ever a case where *quies non movet* was the safest policy, we should have thought the infallibilists of the present day would have found their wisdom in following it. We do not refer simply to "the store of Pontifical scandals" to which Dr. Newman has pointedly referred, though that is serious enough, for the common sense of mankind will always go along with Bishop Maret in connecting the infallibility with the impeccability of the Pope. But as soon as what has been widely held perhaps among Roman Catholics as a vague theological opinion comes to be put into the crucible, and subjected to the stringent tests which could alone justify even a credulous believer in admitting its claims on his faith as a part of divine revelation, *apparet dire facies*. A whole host of contradictory, heretical, immoral, and otherwise questionable de-

decisions of Popes start up out of forgotten records, which had better—at least for Papal interests—have been left to rust, and suggest, as the protesting Bishops say, whose words Dr. Newman has lately re-echoed, “grave difficulties arising out of the writings and acts of the Fathers of the Church, the genuine documents of history and Catholic doctrine itself,” which “*etiam apud melioris note viros*” make the imposition of the new dogma a very hazardous, if not hopeless, enterprise. So at least we judge from several recent declarations of men of note in the Roman Catholic Church.

When Gregory XVI. made Mastai Ferretti a cardinal, he said to Father Theiner, the Vatican librarian, “I have made that man a cardinal against my will, for I know he will be my successor, and am sure he will destroy the temporal power, and, if he lives long enough, destroy the Church too.” Many years later, when Pío Nono was already on the throne, Rosmini, the founder of the Order of Charity, expressed a very similar opinion in stronger terms to his friend Massari. And His Holiness certainly seems in a fair way to fulfil the prophecy. If he does not destroy the Church, he is doing his best to destroy the doctrine on which, according to Dr. Manning, all faith reposes. The proclamation of the Council was the signal for the appearance of a host of anonymous refutations of it from German Catholics, of which “Janus” was the most weighty and influential; then came Father Hyacinthe’s letter announcing that if the Council had not more freedom in its deliberations than in its preparation, he “would cry aloud to God and man for another, really assembled in the Holy Spirit, not in the spirit of party.” Still more important was the Opinion of the Munich Faculty on the Syllabus and on Papal infallibility, which has since been endorsed by the Catholic Faculties of four other German Universities. Then came, after the opening of the Council, two important letters, signed by Dr. Dollinger, in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, both noticed at the time in our columns, one on the infallibilist address, the other on the new regulations for the conduct of business in Council. Soon afterwards followed Montalembert’s dying denunciation of “the double idolatry of the Ultramontane school.” The most distinguished members of the hierarchy and the clergy of the French Church, Bishops Dupanloup and Maret and Father Gratry, contributed the heavier artillery of elaborate theological arguments to the same cause. We wish we could add that Dr. Newman had spoken for English Roman Catholics with the same frankness and decision with which men like Dollinger and Maret have spoken for their French and German brethren. His letter, which appears only to have seen the light by accident, is confused, not to say illogical, and, coming from so consummate a master both of thought and language, reads as if he shrank not only from expressing, but even from forming, any definite opinion of his own on the great controversy which divides his Church. One thing, however, is clear enough. Though he will not commit himself to a rejection of infallibilism as an opinion, he is keenly alive to the “great difficulty” of having to maintain such a doctrine “in the face of historical facts;” and his indignation at the “insolent, aggressive faction” who are pressing for its definition, and whom he compares to Murphy, is proportioned to his conviction of the fatal damage which such a step would entail on the whole future of his Church. We are not concerned to reconcile what seem to us the irreconcilable contradictions of his letter, which is said to have pleased his Liberal Catholic admirers as little as his Ultramontane assailants, who are of course furious with him. But we must reckon him also in the category of those whom the policy of the Curia and the Pope has stung into fierce denunciation of Rome, which “ought to be a name to lighten the heart,” but is become, on the contrary, only a sound of “fear and dismay.” To make the name of Rome odious to the keenest intellects and noblest hearts within the pale of the Roman Church has, in short, after four weary months of unprofitable wrangling, been the chief and almost the sole achievement of the first Council of the Vatican.

THE COMMENTARIES OF LORD CAMPERDOWN.

A BLUE-BOOK has just been published, entitled a “Report of the Commissioners appointed by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty’s Treasury to inquire into certain Civil Departments in Scotland.” It consists of two parts—a thickish volume of evidence collected partly in London, but mainly in Edinburgh, and a Report upon this evidence. The document is curious and well worthy of consideration. A good deal of useful knowledge can be gathered from it as to the affairs of the Northern part of the kingdom, and the result of the inquiry is not uninteresting. It exhibits a pleasant picture of a contented country, efficiently and economically governed, and of a people satisfied with existing arrangements, and who if left to themselves would be as happy as they are prosperous. But unfortunately they are not left to themselves. There is a little rift within the lute, a germ of jealousy of the intellectual capital on the part of the commercial cities, or rather of a socially discontented faction of the commercial cities; and this jealousy has its representatives in Parliament, a small but clamorous coterie of three or four Scotch members, who, during the past year, have brought no small trouble on their country.

At the close of last Session Mr. Maclaren, the member for Edinburgh, and Mr. Craufurd, the member for Ayr Burghs, occupied a great deal of valuable time in obstructing the passing of the Scotch Education Bill. By their persistent efforts they succeeded in delaying the progress of that measure till the last days of the Session. The Bill was lost, and Scotland has been doomed

to perhaps several years of educational destitution through the patriotic exertions of these two honourable gentlemen—a fact which no doubt Scotland will bear in mind at the next general election. The motive of their policy was only half indicated last year. Now it is patent to all mankind. Mr. Maclaren and Mr. Craufurd cared, no doubt, a great deal for education, but they cared more to have a new officer appointed with a comfortable salary of 2,000*l.* or 3,000*l.* a year, to be called a “Scotch Parliamentary officer,” and for this office no one but a Scotch member of Parliament, who was not a Scotch lawyer, need apply. What this new Parliamentary officer was to do except enjoy his salary it did not, and it does not, appear. But an impression seemed to exist in these two Scotchmen’s minds that certain pickings might be gathered together out of the offices existing in Scotland to give to this new official some semblance of occupation. Accordingly, with the aid of Sir Robert Anstruther, the voluble and impulsive member for Fife, who had been induced by their representations to co-operate with them at that time, they wrote a couple of letters to Mr. Gladstone, which are now published in full. In these letters they alleged that the administration of civil business in Scotland was cumbersome, extravagant, inefficient, and unpopular; that the duties of the offices in Scotland by which the public business was conducted ought to be consolidated under one head; and that a Government functionary should be appointed for Scotland holding a position somewhat similar to the Chief Secretary for Ireland. Scotland had been useful to Mr. Gladstone last year, and, believing that these uneasy politicians represented the feeling of Scotland, he yielded to their solicitations, and in a moment of weakness committed the Government to the promise of a Departmental Commission to inquire into the truth of their allegations. Lord Camperdown, an experienced politician of some seven or eight-and-twenty—he had done some confidential work for the Admiralty among the dockyards—“expressed his willingness to undertake the duty,” for so the Treasury Minute runs. Accordingly he was despatched to Scotland. Associated with him were Sir W. Clerk and Mr. Delvies Broughton. These gentlemen knew little of Scotland, and Scotland knew still less of them. It was rumoured that they were connected with the Treasury. It was charitably supposed that they were intimately acquainted with the traditions of that important branch of the public service, and it was fondly hoped that they would leave Scotland with more knowledge of the country than they brought into it.

They came—these two Commissioners and Mr. Delvies Broughton—they saw, they conquered. They commenced their labours on the first of January. They remained in Edinburgh for about a fortnight. And now they have reported, not only upon the offices they were instructed to report upon, but upon the whole public administration of the country. There was work enough assigned to them to occupy an important Commission, composed of men of wide knowledge and ripe experience, for several months. But the youthful energies of Lord Camperdown completed the inquiry in a fortnight. This, no doubt, speaks volumes for his activity and his self-confidence. But it does not inspire an equally assured confidence in those who read his commentaries. You approach the document with some misgiving, and your misgiving does not fade away when you get close up to it. The evidence collected, so far as it goes, is important. It is well brought out and summarized, but the Report cannot be spoken of with favour. There is a girlish and finicking elaborateness about it which, while it gives an air of exceeding accuracy, can hardly be said to indicate much force. The references to the evidence are carefully pieced together, and meander up and down the margin of the page like rubrics in a state of embryo. But these references are all too minute. Scrupulous and painstaking devotion to little points of detail rather warps the general conception. So much attention has been given to the pence that the pounds have had no chance of taking care of themselves. Hence it comes to pass that the Report is inconsistent with the evidence and self-contradictory. And as a work of art it cannot be said to attain to great distinction. Like Mr. Bright’s Skye terrier, it has no special beginning, middle, or end; or rather, perhaps, the natural ending comes in the middle, and the natural middle divides itself between the beginning and the end. You meet the recommendations—if the undigested opinions of a young gentleman of eight-and-twenty can be dignified by the name of recommendations—suddenly and unexpectedly half-way down the Report. You read them with some curiosity, and then you recommence upon the evidence, which lasts for several pages. When the second course of evidence is finished you have to go back upon the recommendations to see what really is suggested. And this is no easy task. The evidence all goes one way, and the recommendations for the most part go the other way. There is nothing in it to lead up to them, for what is presented on the principal point of the inquiry is the reverse of what the Commissioners propose.

They first examined the gentlemen named as the originators of the inquiry. Then they examined Mr. Baxter of the Admiralty. This gentleman appears to have done monkey to his cats-paws in the transaction, but whether with a view of ultimately securing the chestnuts or not does not appear. These four Scotch representatives were examined, and to the surprise of the Commissioners, and no less to the surprise of the public, it turned out that not one of the four knew anything confirmatory of the accusations they had made. Mr. Craufurd, it appears, “had not had the means of forming an estimate of the financial effect of the scheme which he proposed, not knowing the distinctive duties of the

salaries within the various departments. He believed that there would be a large pecuniary saving." Sir R. Anstruther "considered that the saving would be very considerable, but he possessed no detailed knowledge of the duties of the various Boards." Mr. Baxter "had no detailed information as to the business performed by the Boards." Mr. Maclaren, "to whom we were referred for particular information, stated, with reference to almost every office, that he was not personally acquainted with the details of the business done, and that his allegations were chiefly founded on general impressions." "All the other witnesses were of opinion that the appointment of a Secretary would either cause no saving, or would entail additional expense."

Having thus disposed of the accusers, and having established the entire absence of specific information on their part, the Commissioners very properly proceeded to consider the accusations. And first, as to the question whether the Scotch administration is or is not popular in Scotland. To test this point circulars were sent to the Conveners of counties and the Provosts of burghs, with a request that these gentlemen should reply "as concisely as possible" whether it was the opinion of the counties and the burghs that "the civil business of Scotland was administered in the most efficient way possible." We say nothing of the strange vagueness of this inquiry. Every provost and every county convener may have his own ideal of the "most efficient possible" administration of the civil business of a country, but it may be a little difficult to reduce it to paper. With no great stretch of imagination we could fancy many an unhappy provost presiding over the destinies of a secluded burgh, struck dumb at the bare idea of having to make up his mind and inform the Commissioners "as concisely as possible" what he considered the "best possible administration" for Scotland. Questions that have puzzled philosophers and politicians from the days of Plato and Aristotle till the present day might well puzzle stronger men than most Scotch provosts. But they do not puzzle Lord Camperdown, and if he can dispose of the whole problem of Scotch administration in a fortnight, why should not a provost dispose of "the best possible administration" in another? It was a delicate position in which to place these worthy local authorities, but many of them rose to the emergency like men. Some of them—the conveners mainly—administered a delicate and gentle snub to the Commissioners for the vagueness of their inquiry. But universally they admitted their satisfaction with existing arrangements, and universally they deprecated the appointment of any new official. The popularity therefore of the present system is undoubted, and the unpopularity of any change in the direction of the appointment of a new official is no less undoubted.

So much for that head of the indictment. On the head of efficiency and economy the following are the Commissioners' words:—"We cannot suggest a cheaper or more efficient form of administration than Boards." This is fully borne out by the evidence, and on that point it is unnecessary to say a word.

The popularity therefore of the existing Scotch administration is vouched for by the counties and towns of Scotland speaking through their proper representatives. The unpopularity of the proposal to appoint a new officer is no less plainly indicated. The efficiency and economy of the system is guaranteed by the Commissioners and proved by the evidence. The accusations against the present system have manifestly failed, and the band of accusers are convicted out of their own mouths of acting on impression and not on ascertained knowledge. The case has conspicuously broken down, and no reasonable full-grown man who reads the evidence can think otherwise.

The Commissioners, however, do think otherwise. They recommend the appointment of a civil Parliamentary officer to act along with the present Scotch officials. They give no reason for their recommendation, but they give an infinite number of reasons, weakly stated, against it. They were sent to inquire whether the Scotch administration was or was not efficient, economical, and popular. If it were not so, they were to consider whether a new Parliamentary officer should be appointed; if it were so, the inference is that no change was wanted or desired. The evidence proves that there could be no more efficient system; that a new officer would add greatly to the expense of the administration; that the present system is popular, and that the appointment of a new officer would be unpopular. But in the face of this evidence these Commissioners recommend the very thing that would be unpopular and expensive, and would not add to the efficiency of the system. They assign no reason for this eccentric exercise of judgment, except that, to quote their own words, "the appointment of a civil officer, even if he would relieve the Lord Advocate of none of his duties, would at all events silence the complaint that the business of Scotland is conducted too much in reference to legal ideas, and with an undue preponderance of the legal element." To "silence the complaint" is what the Commissioners desire. But from whom comes the complaint? The Commissioners themselves admit that the only complainers are one or two members of Parliament, and "some private individuals who interest themselves in public business," while the whole feeling of the country is against any change. If, instead of "silence the complaint," they had used the words "let the accusers down gently," they would have been nearer the mark.

It is to be presumed that the Government will pay no attention to these suggestions. The inconsecutive nature of the Report is laid bare upon the face of it. It will do no harm, it is to be hoped, to any one but the framers of it. But it is a pity that anything so silly should have been allowed to circulate with the

kind of official sanction which Lord Camperdown's connexion with the Government gives it. "The finest hair casts a shadow"—if we may be pardoned for applying one of Goethe's happiest metaphors to anything so puerile as this Report—and even a matter so utterly trivial may do harm to an Administration which owes much to Scotland and heretofore has shown no sense of gratitude.

THE INDIAN HOT SEASON.

THOSE who have cared to follow the late progress of the Duke of Edinburgh in India will have become aware that there is a period of the year when, even in that climate, Englishmen are capable of a great deal of physical exertion. His Royal Highness has attended races and cricket-matches, danced at balls till three in the morning, travelled long distances by special trains, been sufficiently familiarized with such odious conveyances as palanquins and "dhoolies," bagged snipe and partridge, brought down tigers, and speared hog. He has, in short, witnessed or taken part in all those diversions which officials, torrid with heat, stewed in vapour-baths, and worn by excessive labour, endeavour to compress into that peculiar season which is known throughout Upper and Central India as the cold weather. This season is really not very dissimilar to that bestowed by the poet on the Elysian Fields, nor are the exercises in which young Englishmen prove their strength very unlike those which defunct heroes essayed before the eyes of Æneas and his guide:—

*Largior hic campos æther et lumine vestit
Purpureo: solenne suum, sua sidera norunt.
Pars in graminis exercebat membra palestra:
Contentundum ludo, et fulvâ luctantur arenâ;
Pars pedibus plaudunt choreas.*

This portion of the year, varying from three months in Lower Bengal to six on the banks of the Ravi or the Sutlej, is remarkable for a bright but innoxious sun, an exhilarating atmosphere, cool breezes, and that continuous certainty of weather which it is hopeless to expect in England. And accordingly the cold season is anxiously looked forward to by the sportsman and the magistrate, by the Commissioner or Prefect, and by the Inspectors of Schools and Gaols. Indeed the amount of business, combined with pleasure or relaxation, which is condensed into the period of which we are speaking, is something positively marvellous. The Legislative Councils assemble at the Presidencies. The various projects of law reform which have occupied legislators during the hot weather and rains are duly discussed, reported on by Select Committees, and passed into law. Races are run, in mornings or afternoons, wherever a dozen Englishmen can be found to meet in a common centre from radii fifty miles in extent. The inevitable match of Public Schools *versus* the World is played on a dozen parade-grounds from Barrackpore to Peshawur. There has been for some years past an Italian Operatic Company, which at Calcutta has performed all the well-known operas with more than tolerable success. Balls at the Town Hall and the Mess House, picnics under huge banyan trees as old as the British Government, archery meetings, festivities in viceregal and gubernatorial palaces, have succeeded each other with bewildering rapidity. Together with these social displays, an immense amount of physical inspection is quietly and effectively got through. Schools, English and vernacular, gaols and police-stations, Small Cause Courts, roads and bridges, important marts for the storage of cotton, forests with the large trees fit for felling and with the nurseries for reproduction, are visited; local officials are snubbed or encouraged; complaints are heard, analysed, and decided on the spot; a boundary line which has defied the efforts of three Collectors is at last drawn correctly; the possession of a hundred acres of worthless morass or arid desert is finally adjudged to one of two desperate litigants; a Political Agent tracks a band of robbers or outlaws to their caves and fastnesses in the dominions of some petty Raja; a clue is found to the detection of some secret crime which is the bane of native society; and a fund of information is acquired in a hundred quarters which, in the ensuing hot weather, is gradually metamorphosed or melted down into an elaborate minute or an alarming report. To speak seriously, there can be no doubt that the official tour, undertaken at any time between November and March by personages varying in dignity from the Governor of a Presidency to the Deputy Magistrate in charge of a subdivision, is productive of an amount of good which cannot be over-estimated. The Oriental becomes aware that he is not always governed by a mere machine. The Englishman shows that he is fitted to rule aliens as well by performances with the spear in the saddle, or with the rifle in the howdah, as by circular letters issued from the desk. The poor man with a grievance finds that the tent door of the magistrate is never shut. The oppressions of policemen, the insolence of retainers, the extortions of tax-gatherers, are exposed and punished. And the hold of British authority is generally strengthened, when the magistrate, after going his rounds, is invigorated in constitution and is reinforced by solid facts, and when the native has learnt that his destinies are confided, not to an abstract official theory, but to an individual of flesh and blood, who exhibits that mixture of firmness and conciliation, of vigour and beneficence, by which, and by which alone, Asiatics can be ruled.

Unfortunately, after this period so favourable to reasonable enjoyment or to philanthropic effort, there comes another of a very different description. Just at the date when we are writ-

ing, the hierarchy of official life takes wings to the hills. The Governor-General and the Governors, or Lieutenant-Governors, toll the knell of parting festivities, and leave the inferior world to the furnace-blasts of the hot weather and to the drenching showers of the rains. At this time it is not unusual for Indian editors, and even for members of Parliament, to raise a cry that what is called the exodus to Simla is the ruin of the country; that to the migration to the hills are due mistaken budgets, irregular taxation, neglect of Anglo-Indian interests, and unwise laws; and that it is perfectly incomprehensible how Lord Lawrence or Lord Mayo should object to work in a healthy, well-drained, and well-watered capital, in which such statesmen as Hastings and Wellesley toiled for years, and did not die. Some years ago *Punch* gave us two cartoons representing Earl Russell as he passed his vacation according to the popular theory, and as he passed it in reality. In one the statesman was seen dozing on a shady bank to the rustling of green leaves and to the sound of pleasant waters. The other was crammed with drafts, bills, and projects for the improvement of the country of every conceivable shape and kind. The Anglo-Indian notion of high functionaries at Mahabeshwar or Simla is, as we read it, similar to that represented in cartoon number one. The Viceroy, with his Councillors and Secretaries, is believed to pass his time between April and November, not as Lord Macaulay wrote, and as he ought to do, in making the fierce heat tolerable "by lofty halls and by the constant waving of fans"; but in pure woods fanned by cool breezes, and almost in sight of pellucid waterfalls; and in entertaining a select community by amateur theatricals, and by the distribution of prizes to fair and successful competitors at archery meetings. The reality, we believe, is that, so far from Simla furnishing a ceaseless round of gaiety, it is the scene of the hardest desk-work in the Indian year. Reports for which the materials have been collected by Residents, Chief Commissioners, and police agents during the preceding cold weather, pour thick into the several departments of the Secretariat. Such projects as the complete reform of the excise, the education of millions, the improvement of the judicial agency, the codification of the law, can then receive the mature consideration they deserve. The attention of the Viceroy is no longer distracted by an influential deputation begging him to inspect a coal-field, or by the Head of a province who wishes to present to him the local chiefs of the loyal aristocracy, in a city which, just twelve years before, was beleaguered by armies and battered by cannon. The air of the hills is favourable to work at the desk or cabinet for eight or ten hours a day, and though much is endured and accomplished by those who must work in the plains because they cannot go to the hills, there is not the smallest reason to suppose that the result of official labours is less valuable or less effective at 7,000 feet above the level of the sea and by a wood-fire, than it is on a hot Esplanade where the temperature is alternately that of a Turkish bath or an oven.

It must be admitted, however, that as the presence of a King is said to confer light and happiness, so the absence of a Viceroy is the cause of dulness and despair. Editors, whose supply of material is thereby reduced considerably, may be excused for railing at the departure for the hills. So long as the Viceroy and his personal and departmental staff remain at the Presidency, subjects for leaders are not wanting. Pieces of information are imparted, or "valuable and interesting reports" are placed at the disposal of journalists. The weekly meetings of the Legislative Body furnish food for comment; and there is either something to criticize in the speech of the Commander-in-Chief or the Chancellor of the Indian Exchequer, or something to admire in the bold line taken by the independent member who refuses to pass the Income or the License-tax until he is "furnished with papers." Then speculation is always rife as to the movements and intentions of the Viceroy; what excursion he will next take, what distinguished travellers he entertained last week, and what native potentate is to have an audience or a seat in Council in the next. The arrival of the hot weather puts an end, summarily, to interesting expectations and to all the lively episodes of official life. There is little to write about; councillors and secretaries, who might give judicious hints, or make presents of reports and blue-books, are inhaling mountain breezes and gazing on hills capped with snow; and, with the thermometer at 87, neither human spark nor glimpse divine is left. Official life in the plains becomes mere existence under a punkah, within walls hermetically sealed.

The majority of Indian officials, in spite of railways and telegraphs, must continue to do work in the plains. But that is no reason for obstructing the departure to a sanatorium of those who can go thither without leaving their work behind them, and who are physically and intellectually the better for the change. Any argument founded on the abstinence of earlier Governors fails entirely. Every statesman from Cornwallis to Amherst quitted India in ignorance of the existence, or the advantages of hill stations. Lord William Bentinck, than whom a more earnest and philanthropic administrator never attained to power, went to a hill station in the Madras Presidency. So in succession went to Simla Lords Auckland, Ellenborough, Dalhousie, Elgin, and Lawrence. During the mutiny the road to the Himalayas was practically barred to Lord Canning, and it is unfair to judge of the duty of Viceroys in ordinary times by referring them to the standard of one whose peaceful time was spent in holding Durbars, in rewarding or reproving chieftains, and in re-introducing the form and substance of our administration into whole

provinces from which it had been forcibly expelled. At Simla the Viceroy can communicate by the wires in six hours, or in twelve at most, with the frontiers of British Burmah, the Chief Commissioner in Scinde, and the Governor of Madras. If the presence of a high provincial functionary at any important conference of the Imperial Council is imperative or expedient, he can be called by telegraph, and be at the foot of the hills from any part of Central India, in three or at most four days. If, on the other hand, a grave political crisis required the Viceroy to leave his retreat and come down to the sea-board, he would have no difficulty in reaching Calcutta in sixty hours. There is ample reason for economizing the lives and faculties of Englishmen who are engaged in the onerous and often unappreciated task of consolidating our dominion in India; and to deny to a fatigued and conscientious Viceroy the refreshment of a hill station in the Indian summer is just as absurd as it would be to insist that the Secretary of State who waits on Her Majesty during the recess should travel to Balmoral by post-horses, or by steamer from Blackwall to Aberdeen.

STAGE-STRUCK.

HOW very good it is of gentlemen to act plays for the benefit of London Orphans, and how very ill-natured are the newspapers which remark that an amateur performance by gentlemen serves to exhibit the superiority of the professional ladies who perform with them! We should like to know why ladies as well as gentlemen are not permitted the full enjoyment of the pleasure of amateur acting. Here is a kind of disability under which women suffer, without, so far as we have heard, the slightest prospect of relief, or even any general disposition among the sufferers to complain. These amateur performances by gentlemen at the London theatres are becoming common, but it always seems to be assumed that ladies can have no concern with them otherwise than as spectators. It is to be hoped that an association will be formed under the presidency of Mr. J. S. Mill, for asserting the right of ladies to an equal share of the privileges of the amateur stage. Indeed, we should like to see an announcement of a performance for the benefit of a charity by ladies, in which the male parts would be filled by professional actors. That would only be a fair return for the contemptuous exclusion of ladies from performances which are arranged by gentlemen. It has been hitherto assumed that an appearance on a public stage was an impropriety in any woman who had not adopted acting as a profession. This is one of the assumptions which have been made by men, and which women in the course of modern progress will abolish. The energetic ladies who hold public meetings to enforce the claim of their sex to political and social rights will doubtless commence a resolute agitation against the existing monopoly by men of the privileges of amateur acting. In fact, we are not without hope of witnessing the formation of a society for this express object, which may include among its members all the leading agitators for women's rights. If women are to have votes for members of Parliament, we suppose that they are to be themselves eligible for seats in Parliament, and of course they will take their full share in the business of public meetings. Indeed, they are beginning to do that already. There are certain well-known names which figure perpetually as chairwomen—if that be the proper expression—at public meetings. If one lady proposes a resolution at the Hanover Square Rooms, it is difficult to see why another lady should not perform a part at the Gaiety Theatre for the benefit of a hospital. Speaking for ourselves, we should prefer that ladies would neither move resolutions nor perform at theatres, but then it is probable that our ideas upon these subjects are slightly antiquated. But the women who demand the privileges of men will doubtless demand them to the full extent, and we expect that an early number of the *Victoria Magazine* will announce that a movement has begun for placing men and women on a footing of theatrical equality.

The greater number of men who take to the amateur stage are apparently influenced more by fashion than by taste. The amusement is harmless and comparatively inexpensive, and therefore it ought to be matter of rejoicing to all, except their audiences, that so many men desire to act who have no special capacity for acting. We know that there are amateurs on the stage, as well as in the saddle, to whom the best professionals are only in a trifling degree superior. But still it is surprising that the sort of men whom one finds in every company of amateurs should think it worth while to act, and that people should think it worth while to go to see them. The prices are nearly double of what is charged at the ordinary theatres, and the performance is not half as good. But of course if our money goes to the benefit of London Orphans, or to any other useful purpose, we do not grudge it, and we sit out the performance as best we may. 'Twere good we do and suffer so much for charity. But we cannot help wondering why, if this sort of thing is done at all, ladies do not take part in doing it. They have long since overcome their modesty sufficiently to hold stalls at bazaars, where the proceeds are dedicated to charity, and these bazaars are open to everybody who is willing to spend money. There is nothing to prevent a bank clerk buying a penwiper of a countess, and looking at her while he completes the purchase. It is perfectly understood that gentlemen attend bazaars, not because they want smoking-caps and slippers, but for the sake of seeing and talking to the fair keepers of the stalls. But

bazaars have now become an intolerable bore, so perhaps by way of novelty we may see a countess upon the stage.

These remarks have been suggested by a recent amateur performance at the Gaiety Theatre for the benefit of the London Orphan Asylum, by a party of gentlemen belonging to various dramatic clubs, assisted by professional actresses. The programme comprised a piece written for the occasion; and certainly, if we may take this piece as a specimen of what amateur actors and their friends like, it would be rash to say that the romantic drama is unpopular in England. The *King's Pleasure* is adapted from a French piece called *Gringoire*, in which a needy poet of the time of Louis XI. escapes hanging by winning the love of the daughter of a rich burgher of Tours, who is also the King's goddaughter. The difficult part of the hungry servant of the Muses was allotted to a gentleman who had rather unusually long legs, and seemed rather unusually ignorant what to do with them. It is only fair to this gentleman, however, to admit that his absurd attitudes were copied with great fidelity from those which are often practised on the regular stage, and we may add that the Scottish Archers of the Guard, in whose custody he was supposed to be, have that flimsy, unsubstantial look by which theatrical soldiers are generally distinguished. The stage-manager of this company might be recommended before the next performance of this piece to refer to the pages of *Quentin Durward* for a description of a Scottish Archer, and then search about among theatrical aspirants for a couple of well-grown solid-looking men who may fitly personate the armed guardians of the presence-chamber of a king. It is perhaps hardly to be expected that any two gentlemen can be found willing to undertake such humble but useful parts; for unhappily an amateur dramatic company is only too like that regiment where every soldier was either a captain or a lieutenant. However, we can assure amateurs that by performing these small parts carefully they will gain credit both for themselves and for the company to which they belong. If they want to see how much may be done by looking a part effectively, they may be recommended to observe the performance of the character of the Lieutenant of the Tower in Mr. Tom Taylor's play *'Twixt Axe and Crown*. The actor who plays that part has none of that distressing limpness of which we are complaining, and when he says, "This shall not be," we feel quite certain that it will not be. But to return to the poet whom the Scottish Archers have in charge, it is wonderful not that an amateur should fail in such a part, but that he should attempt it. There are few professional actors who could perform this part satisfactorily, and there are many whose performance would be even more unsatisfactory than that of the amateur. The feeling which is essential to such a character cannot be supplied by theatrical conventionality, however perfect; and it would be very strange if the feeling existed when there is almost nothing to encourage it. However, it is a hopeful sign of the time that an amateur should desire to excel in such a part, and it would be agreeable to be able to say with honesty that the *King's Pleasure* is a pleasure also to the Queen's subjects. The language of the play has only too much of that adornment which is supposed by dramatists and novelists to be as indispensable to the proper representation of a mediæval period as the "Gothic" furniture of the chamber of the wealthy citizen of Tours. We may for convenience describe as "Gothic" the habit which is copiously exemplified in this play of embellishing conversation with such phrases as "by the mass," and "by the rood," and "by our lady." King Louis XI. and his burgher friends are, according to this author, more Gothic than the Goths. When Gringoire is dragged by the archers into the King's presence, and sees cold meat and wine upon a Gothic table, he exclaims, in language suited to the occasion, "By'r Lady, 'twas to supper they were dragging me;" and again, when he is offered a wing of partridge, "Marry, two wings and a leg withal." We sympathize with the difficulty of an actor, professional or amateur, who has to speak such stuff as this. But we suppose that, like the long-pointed shoes which Gringoire wears, it is the correct mediæval or Gothic style.

But another character, the formidable Olivier-le-Daim, scarcely fulfils the Gothic exigency of the occasion. He treats Gringoire on the principle of no song no supper. "Think'st thou," says he, "'tis honest to break your fast without paying scot and lot for what you eat?" We do not object to this expression—"paying scot and lot"—merely as an expression, but because we think its mediæval character is, to say the least, questionable. However, Olivier's meaning plainly stated is, that Gringoire must pay for his supper by singing one of his own ballads before eating it. The ballad which he is thus prevailed upon to sing is specially offensive to the King, in whose presence Gringoire does not know until too late that he is standing. "The orchard of the King" is a poetical expression for the trees on which hang corpses of the King's subjects who have been hanged by the King's order. The author and singer of such a song would be likely to find himself exemplifying his own meaning, nor would King Louis XI. or his minister, Olivier-le-Daim, be restrained from hanging such an audacious offender by the circumstance that he appeared to have a malformation of his neck. Gringoire is sentenced to be hanged, but the King allows him to sup before his death, and admires the appetite he shows. Then Gringoire, speaking to himself, reveals the love he bears to Loyse, the daughter of the merchant and god-daughter of the King. The King thinks that he would make a good husband for her, and, sending the company out of the room, he proposes the match to Gringoire, who is left alone with him. But Gringoire, al-

though he is allowed an opportunity, will not ask Loyse to save his life by marrying him. The King returns, and, finding that there is a difficulty, makes Loyse understand that which Gringoire will not express, and thus the play ends happily. The all-important part of King Louis XI. was very creditably played; and indeed if it had been played no better than the other parts, the audience would have had to keep very steadily before their minds the benefit which they were bestowing on the London Orphans. We applaud the gentleman who played Gringoire rather for the attempt than for its success; and as regards the performance of Olivier-le-Daim and the rich burgher Simon Fourniez, we wonder where are the persons who are pleased by it. Such an entertainment might be welcomed in a country house, or on board ship, but seems out of place in a London theatre, where it necessarily challenges comparison with the performances by regular actors for which it is substituted. The evening finished with a farce, which succeeded much better than the serious drama which we have described, and the farce finished with a dance in which three amateur gentlemen were assisted by a professional lady. The exclusion of amateur ladies from such performances is part of that social system which, as Miss Faithfull is fond of telling us, was contrived by men, and which it is the mission of herself and her allies to reform. In the good time coming ladies will assert their right to appear upon a public stage, at least for the benefit of a charity, and we do not question that Loyse will be played as well as Gringoire, if not better. It will become usual for announcements to appear of amateur performances, say at the assembly-rooms of a county town, by the daughters of the best families in the county, assisted by captains of dragoons and lieutenants of the rifle brigade, and these performances will comprise both comedy and burlesque in all its branches. If a ball were given at the same rooms, the young ladies would bring their mammas with them; but it is perhaps difficult to find a part for a mamma in a burlesque, and still more difficult to find a mamma for a part. So mamma will enjoy only the same privilege as the public who pay their money. If this sort of thing is to be regularly done, it will be a comfort to know from Mr. J. S. Mill that it is quite right, because, if we had been left to our own guidance, we might have had our doubts.

SPRING EXHIBITIONS.

ON entering the "Doré Gallery" we had placed in our hands a "Description of the Triumph of Christianity" in which we are made to play an unexpected part. Among appended "extracts from the press" the *Saturday Review* helps to swell "The Triumph of Christianity" in company with "Blanchard Jerrold," "the Paris Correspondent of the *Morning Star*," *Lloyd's News*, the *Art Journal*, and the *Athenæum*. We regret to say that we are unworthy of this distinguished position; and at first we were puzzled to know how severe strictures published in our columns a year since could now be made to read as unqualified praise. The explanation is but too simple; by aid of a pair of scissors and a little paste, the proprietors of the Doré Gallery were able to adjust the paragraph to their purpose. For advertising ends it certainly would have been inconvenient to reprint that this Triumph of Christianity "suggests transformation scenes lit by the lime-light," that "the whole getting up of the picture has less of Christian sobriety and moderation than the tinsel of Byron's Sardanapalus." In order that the public may not be wholly misled by the garbled extracts in the Catalogue, we will quote from our criticism a few sentences to show how far we were from giving to this astounding picture unqualified approval. The "Triumph of Christianity" "fails of religious character," and "scarcely escapes irreligion"; "to demand reverence would obviously be foreign to the whole affair. It were evidently beside the mark to object, in a composition got up as gorgeously as a Christmas extravaganza, that the conception of Christ has little of the divine. It is sufficient for the painter's purpose that the figure by its stage attitude is effective." "A composition which begins with Christ and ends with the bird Ibis is likely to be somewhat heterogeneous and hybrid."

Yet this "Doré Gallery" ought to be able to sustain itself by its intrinsic merits. The five and twenty pictures here brought together, though sometimes extravagant and wanting in good taste, are among the most noteworthy art phenomena of the day. "Paolo and Francesca" and "The Neophyte," whatever be their faults, are works marked by strong and original genius. The artist avowedly has no claims to be either a purist or idealist. His creations are of flesh and blood, of the earth earthy. Indeed, his imagination is apt to run riot, and his magniloquent manner sometimes hardly escapes fustian. M. Doré has attempted to illustrate the Bible, the poems of Tennyson, and we fear he may essay Shakespeare. "Merlin and Vivien" here exhibited is a vulgar reading; "Titania" is poetry poorly done—too much blue and emerald green have been mixed with the moonlight. But the artist seldom fails when he sticks close to nature; his talents are essentially of the realistic order. Take "The Knitters; Women of Alsace," as an example; the modelling is masterly, the painting, if slashing, is solid; the colour in depth of shadowed lustre is little short of grand. The painter is great, too, in landscape; in "Die Engelshörner" he gives to mountains scale and elevation, to rocks magnitude, and the pine-trees stand as sentinels that keep guard and watch. The painter has the power of animating inanimate nature; his landscapes need no figures to awaken human interest.

Great is the delight given by "La Prairie"—a wild tangle, a luxuriant growth of grass, reeds, and flowers, amid which butterflies float on brightest wing. The management is artistic; the colours pass from green into gold, from warm light to cool blue shade, and an infinitude of detail, which in less skilled hands might have been scattered, is brought into pictorial unity. We have only to regret that an artist so richly endowed should sometimes forget himself.

The New British Institution is one more addition to the already too numerous list of exhibitions. Last year grievances against the Academy provoked a "Supplementary Exhibition," and now "the New British Institution" rises as a supplement to "the Supplementary." Yet, though the logic which leads to this new adventure may seem far-fetched, the conclusion arrived at is in point of art merit commendable. Moreover, the management has the advantage of being little short of immaculate, by reason of a provision that the hanging committee shall be elected by a constituency composed of the contributors. The contrivance may be faultless, yet somehow human nature invariably breaks down under perfect machinery, and accordingly, though Mr. Gullick, the honorary secretary, with praiseworthy self-sacrifice foregoes the right to exhibit a single picture, the works of this model committee, elected by universal suffrage, happen by some strange fatality to be well placed. Yet it must be conceded that the exhibition proves in the end remarkably good. We will not stop to speak of Royal Academicians or Associates—Messrs. Faed, Goodall, Poole, Frost, Dobson, and Lee—partly because in Piccadilly we are about to meet them in greater force. As usual with "Supplementary" exhibitions, the works which assert themselves conspicuously come from outsiders. Mr. W. B. Scott, for example, here contributes a picture which he might scarcely have ventured to submit to the council of the Academy. And yet "The Household Gods; Rome, A.D. 150," ought to be seen somewhere. The painter explains his meaning by a poem, and perhaps the conception of poem and picture alike are preferable to the execution; the figures and the phraseology equally lack finish. Yet the young female neophyte, who enters the Pagan house a messenger of good tidings with reproach, stands a happy impersonation of fortitude and Christian conviction. The idea is altogether so good that we cannot but regret that the handling is unequal and inadequate. Another work of high intent, "Angels contemplating Men," by Mr. Cave Thomas, is also better as a thought than as a picture; the colours are crude and mistaken, the sky is of inky blue, the general style is that of the modern German school. "The Virgin, Child, and St. John," by M. Verlat, a Belgian artist, who has made himself known in International Exhibitions, is as good a parody on old religious art as can be expected in these degenerate days. "A Portrait of a Lady," by M. Lehmann, has a quietude and mellowed tone which are in contrast with the obtrusive brilliance of our English painters. This new British Institution boasts some half-dozen landscapes which depart from dull routine. Artists are not prolific in ideas; a painter may be congratulated who is blessed with one new thought in a twelvemonth. This paucity of ideas at home may have led to importations from abroad, such as, for example, a lovely "Morning-view in the Ardennes," by M. Lamorinière, the Belgian. The scene is tranquil; not a breath stirs the air, the lucent waters reflect tender tones from the morning sky; the greys are silvery. Also a fresh page from the book of nature has received unexpected reading from Mr. Henry Wallis, of "Dead Stone-breaker" repute. "Blue Bells" are set like jewels in a field of emerald; the flowers throw off dazzling light and colour, and yet the picture is well kept together. "Grapes," by Mr. Mückley, of the Manchester School of Art, also arrest the eye by brilliant, yet balanced colour; the work is masterly. Mr. J. C. Lewis, who is committed to the forlorn hope of putting upon canvas every leaf and flower that grows in nature's field, justifies his temerity by a successful study of tangled foreground. But these so-called pre-Raphaelite landscapes are inevitably scattered. To the opposite school belong two Scotchmen, Mr. Peter Graham and Mr. Docharty, whose manner is broad as the mountains, strong as the rocks. Mr. Peter Graham is great in a Scotch mist; he mingles his skies with sunshine, shade, and shower.

The Society of British Artists may boast that it has now reached within three years of its fiftieth anniversary; yet, on the other hand, it has to mourn the death of a venerable President, after thirty years' tenure of office. Eleven pictures by the late Mr. Hurlstone, who in this Gallery had won for himself the title of the English Murillo, are collected as a tribute to his memory. We are given to understand that Mr. Hurlstone was accustomed to inveigh bitterly against critics, and the pictures now assembled serve at any rate to explain why this ambitious but mistaken painter found little favour with leading journalists or Royal Academicians. Mr. Hurlstone had grown into an anachronism; standing between two stools, divided in allegiance between nature and the old masters, he was ever in danger of falling to the ground. Moreover, his art scarcely rose above that sustained mediocrity, that conventional commonplace, which is derided alike by gods and mortals. And yet one or two of the works contributed indicate that Mr. Hurlstone was in his best estate not very distant from the dignity befitting historic art. Inferior in genius to Haydon, he fell into like errors; his works do not fail from over-modesty, excess of finish, or refinement. Had he betimes submitted to self-discipline and profited by rebuke, the works of his latter days would not have been his reproach. And now that the artist, who by nature seems to have been at first framed for greatness, has gone to his last

account, the sad reflection remains that the sins of the father are visited upon the children. Upon "British Artists," over whom his reign was prolonged for a period of thirty years, has been permanently engrafted that inveterate manner in which to the last he gloried—a manner which sacrifices art to effrontery, and which regards refinement as a weakness. This style, ostracized from the Academy, has for years made Suffolk Street its stronghold, and the hope seems now vain that talents committed to vicious practices will venture to retrace the steps which lead back to nature. In the present Exhibition the outsiders to the Society are as usual the best. A fine Titianesque "study" by Mr. Leighton has found a place on the walls, and from Mr. Valentine Bromley, of "the Institute," comes an amazingly clever composition, "The Right of Way." "The Corsair" (330), by one of the number of "British Artists," is a second Byron scandal.

Mr. McLean opens his "Fifth" "exhibition of modern pictures of the highest class"; all such exhibitions are, as a matter of course, of "the highest class." Some trouble is thereby saved to the critic, for to criticize "the highest class" were superfluous. But the gallery of Mr. McLean seems one of the best of its kind; it may be a shop in disguise, but so are all galleries, for there is not a painter among us so simple in his pursuit of beauty as to send wares to a room wherein there is no chance of sale. And the merit of all trade galleries, including the "French Gallery," is that the goods are wisely selected to meet the market. Genius has no place unless she can commend herself to Manchester. Mr. McLean is wise in his generation. Such names as M. Auguste Bonheur, M. Frere, M. Baugnet, M. Meissonier, and Madame Henriette Browne are sure to command attention. But an ominous sign of the times is, that in this gallery, as in other places, foreign merchandise is driving out home-made produce. It would appear that artists in London live so fast that they cannot compete with the low prices at which, under the simpler régime of the Continent, pictures from abroad are brought to the market.

The "Italian Gallery" opens its first exhibition with large verbal promise and small pictorial performance. In the interests of Italy this collection, at least in its present unformed condition, must be repudiated. Modern Italian art, it is true, has passed beyond decadence into a fall; yet International Exhibitions have not failed to display some few painters worthy of honourable place in the contemporary schools of Europe. Such a master-work as "The Expulsion of the Duke of Athens," by Signor Ussi, exhibited in London in 1862—not to quote other pictures—gives assurance that Florence, Milan, Venice, and Naples, if fairly represented, might form a gallery of considerable worth, and certainly of no slight interest.

In conclusion, we have once more to point out that the endless multiplication of exhibitions acts as a premium on mediocrity. The painting of pictures is a trade, and it is now almost impossible to produce a work so low that it shall not find a place in some one of the many galleries designed to meet every grade. By this facility of placing bad works in conspicuous places, art and the public taste are alike deteriorated. The period has come when even the arts have to submit to democratic levelling; democracies flood large areas by sinking the surface beneath low-water mark.

REVIEWS.

DR. NEWMAN ON ASSENT.*

IF readers with a taste for analysis do not find it very easy to derive a clear and consistent impression from Dr. Newman's recent work, they need not lay the whole blame on their own incapacity. Dr. Newman himself may come to their aid, and explain to them why they are perplexed. He tells them that whenever he turns his thoughts to mental and moral science, and even when he is dealing with the Evidences of Religion, he is habitually under the influence of the sentiment that in these provinces of inquiry egotism is true modesty. He has had his experiences, and therefore he speaks; but he cannot speak for others. Without pretending to lay down the law, he only brings his own contribution to the common stock of psychological facts. His *Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent* is therefore in principle autobiographical. His *Apology* contained the history of his religious opinions, and he now gives us the philosophy of that history. He does not ask in perplexity, as once he did, "ubi lapsus? quid feci?" but looking calmly from the point of view which he has reached, he examines in a contented mood the bearings of his present position. And as he does so, his eye instinctively turns from time to time, without any conscious operation of his will, upon the church spire which he has left behind him in his wanderings, upon the dusty glaring road along which he once travelled. To use his own words, he has exercised, to the best of his power, the prerogative of completing his inchoate and rudimentary nature, and of developing his own perfection out of the elements with which his mind began to be. He has not thrown his old self aside; what he was is still a part of what he is. Really to understand his *Grammar of Assent*, we do not need the help of some still more abstract philology; we should descend to particulars rather than mount to generals, and

* *An Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent.* By John Henry Newman, D.D., of the Oratory. Second Edition. London: Burns, Oates, & Co.

account for the peculiar collocation of his thoughts by reference, not to abstract principles, but to the nature and experience of the individual man.

Our minds, like our bodies, retain their old form when their substance is changed. Dr. Newman has no faith in logic. He dislikes it, at least so far as it is a thing of pen, ink, and paper; he denies that it has carried him on to his present conclusions; he has long felt the force of the maxim of St. Ambrose, "non in dialecticâ complacuit Deo saluum facere populum suum." But for all that, he still writes as a logician; old thoughts recur to him in old shapes when he is busied with the operations of the mind and the cognition of things. Though he is now a brother of the Oratory, a willing disciple of the Roman obedience, we can see in him clear traces of the young Fellow of Oriel who helped Whately to compose his *Elements of Logic*. He quotes the *Ethics*, he gives page after page to *phronesis*, he has not ceased to think Bishop Butler the great master of an important theological doctrine. He shows less obligation to the grave metaphysical thought of the present day than to our current newspapers and novels; and Romanist authorities come in, not as shaping the method of his thoughts, but as crowning them with assent and approval. To understand his book we must bear in mind what he was some forty years ago, what he is now, and by what a long course of solitary thought and individual aspiration his former and his present self are connected.

Into the old logic we may therefore go for a time, trusting it perhaps as little as Dr. Newman himself, and with the intention of soon emerging from it. Propositions, he begins by telling us, consist of a subject and predicate united by the copula, and may take a categorical, conditional, or interrogative form. An interrogative proposition asks a question and implies a doubt; a conditional proposition expresses a conclusion and implies inference; but a categorical proposition makes an assertion and is held by a mental act of Assent. And Assent is Dr. Newman's subject; he is concerned with inference only in its relation to assent, and with doubt hardly at all. We here see at once the peculiar position of his mind. The doubter, it may be, interrogates many authorities without quite trusting any; he seeks, but cannot find; he leans on one support after another, and quits it unwillingly because he thinks it is failing him. Dr. Newman is sorry for the doubter, and would help him if he could, but is too far removed from him to give him direct assistance. The reasoner is trying to mount the ladder of inference, and so to reach the safe standing ground of truth. Dr. Newman has been on the ladder before him, has observed how its rounds go by triplets, and tried to ascertain their strength and cohesion. He warns the reasoner that inference is only an instrument for climbing; that we should not stay on it too long or trust it too implicitly; and that, when by the help of an intellectual ladder we have attained to the desired height, we should be on our guard against the fallacy of supposing that the height rests upon the ladder. It is Assent and Assertion that Dr. Newman loves—things simple and categorical, without condition and reservation of any kind, looking neither backward nor forward, resting in themselves and essentially complete. This love, there is reason to believe, is in thorough accordance with his nature; it implies the requisite duality, without being needlessly complex. The doubter and the questioner are generally the same person, for a question is the expression of a doubt. Inference and conclusion are forms assumed by the activity of the same mind; we reason with a view to results, and, so far as we are genuine reasoners, both the process and the result are our own. But there is a separation of agents in assent which we do not find in the case of doubt or argument. The assessor and the assenter are generally distinct persons; they are related as leader and follower, as teacher and disciple. Here it is that Dr. Newman finds himself at home. He has passed, in his day, through a real but not very broad region of doubt; he has argued a good deal himself, and appreciates a good argument; but what he wants, what he craves, what he clings to as an imperative necessity of his nature, is adherence to an external authority. He has discovered at last, what he did not always know, that nothing suits him so well as strong and vigorous assertion on the one hand, to be met by equally strong and vigorous assent on the other.

For assent, according to Dr. Newman, does not admit of degrees; in its nature it is one and indivisible; its strength is part of its essence; if modified or qualified, it is not a genuine assent at all. When we deliberately say "I assent," we signify an act of the mind so definite as to admit of no change but that of ceasing to be. Half-assent is no assent, just as half-truth is no truth. In thus teaching, Dr. Newman finds himself in apparent conflict with Locke, who devotes a chapter of his *Essay on the Human Understanding* to Degrees of Assent, and almost takes for granted that our assents should be more or less firm in proportion to the strength of the probabilities on which they are based. We have no occasion, for our present purpose, to discuss this difference of opinion and trace it to its source on both sides. Unless the assent of Locke and of Dr. Newman is precisely the same thing, the question will after all be a verbal one. Dr. Newman asserts, with perfect truth, that assents may endure without the presence of the inferential acts upon which they were given, and that assent sometimes fails while the speculative reasons are still in force upon which it was first grounded. Hope and fear, likes and dislikes, appetites, passion, affection, the stirrings of selfishness and self-love, have at least as large a share in producing practical conviction as any purely intellectual operations. To re-

cur to our former metaphor, a strong ladder may only help us to attain a position which is practically weak, and we may climb with the utmost peril and difficulty to a standing-point which deserves to be defended with all the ardour of obstinate devotion. But when this is granted, the question remains—must not our assents, which can come into existence and perish, be stronger when they are gaining vitality, and weaker when they are losing it? Dr. Newman answers in the negative; and his answer, though it does not dispose of the metaphysical difficulty, decides at least one point. He is a witness to the strength of his own assenting power. Real assents, he tells us, are of a personal character, each individual having his own and being known by them. And the personal character of Dr. Newman shows itself even in his metaphysics; to him, assent, if it is not strong and unreserved, is nothing.

Dr. Newman, it is clear, trusts far less to those grounds of conviction which are common to men in general, than to those that are individual and personal. He treats at some length of the range and value of inference, and concludes by expressing his opinion that in concrete matter the sole and final judgment on the validity of an inference is committed to a mental faculty which he calls the Illative Sense. When the Illative Sense is satisfied, we have a warrant that certitude is rightly elicited in favour of the proposition inferred; further than this, he does not see his way towards fixing a criterion of certainty. In other words, he does not trust the verdict which follows upon reasoning to any one definite faculty as judge; he leaves the decision to the verdict of our whole being, the operation of our general sense of fitness, the sway of the complex man. In perfect keeping both with his own developed sentiments and with the early training of his mind, he seeks the basis of religious assents in conscience as "the creative principle of religion," in that voice which, though it brings us a message from God, speaks to grown men through the medium of their habits and prejudices, and to children through the traditions, the instincts, the virtues, and in some sense the vices of their fathers. But the Conscience, the Illative Sense, the power of grasping propositions with the assurance of perfect certainty, as described by Dr. Newman, are no abstractions existing only on paper, no generalized faculties supposed to belong to the whole human family; they are part of his personal being, they are primarily and essentially his own. It is his own observation that real assent, like the experience it presupposes, is an act of the individual as such, and thwarts rather than promotes the intercourse of man with man. It shuts itself up, as it were, in its own home; it is its own witness and its own standard. Dr. Newman does not attempt either to destroy or to disguise the partitions which separate him from the common thought of mankind, but he does his best to make them transparent. It gives him apparently much more pleasure than pain to show us the workings of his mind. With his permission, we might almost say by his invitation, we see, so far as such things can be seen, his keenly sensitive conscience, his distrust of his own remarkable faculty of inference, his disposition to fall back upon authority, and his extraordinary power of assenting to such assertions as are made by the authority he has recognised.

The characteristic touches by which we best describe ourselves are often minute and unintentional. There is perhaps no passage in the *Essay on the Grammar of Assent* which illustrates more clearly the tone of Dr. Newman's mind with regard to the gravest subjects than an incidental criticism which he gives us of a reading of Shakspeare. After stating in general terms one of his main positions with respect to inference, he wished to explain it by means of a particular instance; he looked round the room, took down an old volume of a magazine, and soon found himself weighing the well-known words, "His nose was as sharp as a pen, and a' babbled of green fields." The first folio, as we all know, does not tell us that Falstaff babbled on his death-bed; it has the unintelligible reading, which we give to the letter, "and a Table of greene fields." The generally received reading is due to Theobald, to whom it was suggested, as he tells us, by a marginal conjecture on an edition of Shakspeare, "by a gentleman lately deceased." But some twenty years ago there came to light another reading of the passage, as one of the so-called corrections published by Mr. Collier from his famous annotated copy—"on a table of green frieze." It was not to Dr. Newman's purpose, and it is not to ours, to determine how the passage ought to be read, or to express an opinion as to the date and personality of Mr. Collier's anonymous annotator. We only refer to the subject to observe how instinctively Dr. Newman, when dealing with a matter which he does not feel to be important, clings to the merest semblance of authority. The first folio commands his respect, for it was published by known persons, only six years after Shakspeare's death, from his own manuscript, as it appears, and with his corrections of earlier faulty impressions. Its reading of the passage in question is indeed nonsense; but authority, we are told, though it cannot sanction nonsense, can forbid critics from experimentalizing upon it. The anonymous annotator is also handled most respectfully. Dr. Newman observes that, for what we know, his authority may be very great; there is nothing to show he was not a contemporary of the poet. But poor Theobald's candour and ingenuity do not gain for him the slightest degree of favour. His reading is confessedly a conjecture founded on a conjecture. Dr. Newman will not allow it to be assumed as a first principle which needs no proof, that a text may be tampered with because it is corrupt. He recognises the claims of a badly printed book; he is willing to take for granted the genuineness of disputed annota-

tions; but he can scarcely give grave attention to the avowed guess of a clever man.

We have now sufficient material before us for indicating briefly the theological aspect of the Essay on the Grammar of Assent. It harmonizes thoroughly with Dr. Newman's personal history, as well as with his metaphysical opinions. Once he was an eminent member of the Church of England, and devoted himself entirely to her service. On her behalf he thought and wrote and preached and prayed; he opposed himself to some aspects of constituted authority; he held and taught doctrines for which he believed he had her warrant. But the time came when he discovered to his dismay that the reach of his assent was more than adequate to the reach of her assertions; that he could not in all respects lean safely upon her for support; that if she had a place for him, she found room also for others who differed widely, and it might seem fundamentally, from him. He was therefore attracted to a communion which has undoubtedly shown itself willing both to assert vigorously, and, when force was possible, to enforce assent to its assertions by vigorous means. But in Dr. Newman's case no form of force was necessary. The very attitude of command acted upon him as the most genial persuasion. In the depths of his nature there had lain for years, waiting to be developed, a capacity for meeting cheerfully, and even thankfully, very large demands upon his faith. The Church of Rome won him by satisfying a want of his nature, and he is able to lie on her bosom as an obedient child. He argues, but he does not trust his own arguments; he has no wish to inquire further into the truth of his creed; he occupies the position of a simple believer, and declines to meet doubters or questioners half-way. What he really proves in his book—we scarcely know whether it is very little or very much to prove—is that a man of pure and high nature may so balance a strong will against a strong intellect as to attain, without much direct use of the affections, a practical equipoise in which he can rest in peace.

Accordingly, the theological portion of Dr. Newman's contribution to the Grammar of Assent has not the completeness of a formal treatise, the compactness of a symmetrical essay, the pointed precision which attends on victorious argument. It has more the character of a series of intellectual meditations. It is introspective, and in some sense apologetic; the writer, however firm in his convictions, still thinks it worth his while to show that on the whole he is and has been consistent, and that he has not ceased to be a reasoning and reasonable man. He concerns himself only incidentally with the questions which divide Christians from each other, and dwells far less on controverted points than on the great truths of natural and revealed religion. If we were obliged to assign to this portion of his work a directly controversial purpose, we should say that he aimed at proving by his own example that a thinking man within the Roman communion can enjoy sufficient practical liberty of thought and statement. There is something peculiarly delightful in the calm and conciliatory spirit in which Dr. Newman describes his own experiences and defines his own position. He may not always rate those who differ from him at their full worth, but he never meets them with an unnecessary defiance, or deals a side blow at them unfairly. This candour, far from being at variance with his principles, admits of the fullest intellectual justification. He feels himself guarded on every side by assertions for which he is not in the first place responsible, but to which he gives an unconditional assent. His power of assenting is not yet exhausted; he has lately avowed that if the Ecumenical Council which is now sitting shall be pleased to indulge in a new definition *de fide* as a luxury of devotion, he does not personally expect, as a consequence, any trial at all. Thinking himself quite safe within the entrenchments of an impregnable camp, he goes with sincere calmness to its furthest edge, and stops there. He presses his speculations on the doctrine of eternal punishment to a point from which, wonderful to say, he could almost exchange signals with Mr. Maurice, and then secures his proper relations to the Church by adding—"I submit the whole subject to the Theological School." He does not fear those who differ from him, and he is very far from hating them; he would attract them if he could, but if he cannot succeed in so doing, he abstains from harassing them with attacks which would be only a form of annoyance. All this is both logical and amiable, but our feelings are but imperfectly under the control of logic, and if Dr. Newman had been a less conscientious man he would have been tempted, when moving on the edge of controversy, to deal some severe blows which would have been telling, at least on paper.

His recent book will leave him, as it found him, a comparatively isolated thinker. To most members of the Roman communion he must after all be a riddle, for he approaches Custom, Authority, Tradition, Dogma, not from the objective but the subjective side. Strongly as his course has been influenced by the maxim of St. Augustine, *securus judicat orbis terrarum*, he almost seems to balance a vast system of doctrine and discipline, like an inverted pyramid, on the strength of his individual assent. With members of the Church of England, much as some of them admire and love him, he must have, in consequence of the course of evenness and less in common. While Romanism, by its own action, is becoming more purely Ultramontane, Anglicanism cannot help seeing, on the other side of St. George's Channel, a sister Church which is assuming a more distinctly national character in consequence of its separation from the State. Indeed almost all Englishmen who in these days accept the responsibility of thought are obliged to be

content, when seeking for religious truth, with measured assent and graduated conviction. They may have real guidance, but they cannot persuade themselves that it is infallible; they must run some risks on their own account; they cannot fix accurately a point beyond which no force of argument, no amount of evidence, no pressure of practical circumstance, shall be allowed to carry them. One truth, however, Dr. Newman's essay may impress with advantage on many thoughtful men. There is a stage of the inner life, reached by some, though by comparatively few of us, at which reason and reflection seem to have done their work. Argument is no longer of use; inquiry ceases to profit us; we attempt analysis only to find that we can analyse no more. In that case we may well imitate Dr. Newman within a limited area. Without pretending to rival him in the extent and vigour of his assents, we may determine to exert earnestly those convictions which we have. Where reason is weak and tottering, we may call in the will to its assistance. The development of our own nature is an imperfect canon of truth, yet, if we employ it conscientiously and without undue confidence, it is far better than no canon at all.

BATTLE FIELDS OF PARAGUAY.*

THE death of Lopez on the last of the battle fields of Paraguay may fitly serve as the occasion for tracing, under Captain Burton's guidance, the course of that fatal war of hundreds against thousands, of Brown Bess against the Spencer and Enfield rifles, of honeycombed carronades against Whitworth's guns, of punts and canoes against iron-plated steamers, and of poverty and ignorance against wealth and scientific appliances of war. The Paraguayan soldier has destroyed himself by his own heroism. Most foreigners are of opinion that two Paraguayans were quite a match for three Brazilians; but then, unhappily, the armies of Brazil and her allies were again and again renewed, while Paraguay had sent her entire male population to the war, and could do no more. The tenacity of purpose, the fierce courage, and the impossible contempt for death of the Paraguayans, have gained for them imperishable glory, but could not permanently withstand the overwhelming power of their assailants. And now the Marshal President Lopez has met a death more honourable than his life, and the remnant of his male subjects have nothing left to fight for, unless, after the manner of their country, they can get up a contest over the question of who is to be their next tyrant.

In the year 1865, the first of the war, the Paraguayan army acted on the offensive, and incurred disasters which encouraged the allies to become assailants in the following year. The angle formed by the rivers Paraguay and Parana at their junction was the scene of the principal actions of the war. Let it be remembered that the Paraguay comes from the north and the Parana from the east. The world-famed fortress of Humaita is on the Paraguay, and further up the same river is Asuncion, the capital of the republic of Paraguay, which was opprobriously called by the journalists of Buenos Ayres the wigwag of the cacique Lopez. The country between the two rivers is almost impenetrable by an army, consisting for the most part either of mud or muddy water and of dense jungle. The difficulties of any advance, and the caution—to use a mild term—of the allies, detained them near the junction of the rivers for almost two years. Considering that Lopez was always uncomfortable under fire, the valour with which his starving half-clad soldiers fought for him is marvellous. At the "sea-like mouth" of the Parana is a small islet, upon which the Brazilians erected a battery opposite to the Paraguayan fort of Itapiru. This battery was attacked on April 10, 1866, by the Paraguayans under Lieutenant-Colonel Diaz. The fight was fierce. Fifteen out of twenty-six canoes were sunk, and of 1,200 Paraguayans only 400 wounded men returned. It was the first of many reckless actions in which Lopez frittered away his devoted forces. The fort of Itapiru was armed with two eight-inch guns, and with these it kept at bay for forty days the allied army and the Brazilian fleet, consisting of eighteen steam gunboats and four ironclads. This fort was the key of the position, yet Lopez carelessly abandoned it. Ascending the river Paraguay, every mile of ground which the steamer passes cost a month of fighting. At Tuyuti, the first solid ground seen after the Confluence, lie 10,000 men, victims of cholera, small-pox, and fever. The soldiers died so fast that, in that country of water, there was hardly land enough to bury them. Near at hand are the sites of several great battles. At Curuzu the entrenchments of the Paraguayans were carried after severe fighting by the allies, who waded through four feet of water to the attack. It was after this reverse that Lopez, as if he could not lose his soldiers fast enough by the fire of the enemy, caused a battalion to be literally decimated. He upbraided General Diaz for the loss of Curuzu, and was answered that no general could stop the men from running. Hereupon a delinquent battalion was formed in line, and every tenth man was taken out and shot. The officers of the battalion drew lots, and those who drew the long pieces of grass were also shot. This story is told by Mr. Thompson in his book, and he adds that he did not hear of the event till two years after it occurred. The allies omitted to follow up their success at Curuzu, and an entrenchment, hastily dug under the direction of Mr. Thompson, rescued the position of Curupaity. This gentleman was an English civil engineer, who was induced, or compelled, to serve under

* *Letters from the Battle Fields of Paraguay.* By Captain Richard F. Burton, F.R.G.S., &c., author of "Explorations of the Highlands of the Brazil," &c., &c. London: Tinsley Brothers. 1870

Lopez in this war, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Two days were gained for the works of Curupaity by the expedient adopted by Lopez of proposing a conference with the allied generals, which came to nothing. The unsuccessful assault upon these works cost the allies 5,000 men. The loss fell most heavily on the troops of the Argentine Confederation, who gallantly struggled up to the trenches despite of mud knee-deep, and then found that they had forgotten their scaling ladders. This mishap filled the Argentine Confederation with rage and grief, and during the ten months from September 1866 to July 1867 the allies declined further operations. Ultimately Curupaity was evacuated by the Paraguayans. These positions were all selected on the same principle. The Paraguayans chose for their standpoint some place where the stream was narrowest and flowed swiftest, where the deepest water was from 50 to 150 yards off their guns, and where a passing ship would be most exposed to fire. They placed their guns upon a horse-shoe-shaped cliff forming a re-entering angle in the left or eastern bank of the river. The cliff, a natural earthwork, varied from 20 to 50 feet. It was generally bounded north and south by impenetrable swamp and jungle. Above Curupaity on the right bank of the river lay at the time of Captain Burton's visit remnants of the canoes which had the audacity to assault two Brazilian ironclads on the night of March 2, 1868. These desperate attempts, showing heroic devotion to the cause of Lopez, were often repeated, but never successfully. But they obliged the Brazilians to throw a boom across the river. A force of 1,200 men, armed with swords and hand-grenades, was told off for the original attack, and after much merriment they were dismissed with presents of cigars by Mrs. Lynch, who told them to go and bring her back her ironclads. They paddled off on a very dark night in forty-eight canoes lashed in pairs, each carrying twenty-five men. The swiftness of the current carried many of them past the objects of attack into the middle of the hostile fleet. About half the number hit the mark and sprang on board almost unperceived. The crews of the two ironclads rushed below hatches, and into their turrets, but not before fifty of them were killed. The Paraguayans attempted to throw hand-grenades into the port-holes, and ran about seeking ingress like a cat attacking a trapped mouse. The two ironclads were thus virtually taken. Presently two other ironclads steamed up alongside their consorts, and cleared the decks with volleys of grape and canister. Nothing remained for the Paraguayan survivors but to swim for life. It was the general opinion that if the Paraguayans could have taken a single ironclad, they would have cleared the river with it. If Lopez had received from Europe before the war began the ironclad ships which he had ordered, he might now be the chief of a great empire. Such, at least, is the opinion of Captain Burton.

The fortress of Humaita, which held the allies in check for upwards of two years, was nearly undiscoverable at a hasty glance. The site of this fortress, as of others which have been described, was a curved bank on the eastern side of the river; but the sweep was more than usually concave, to the benefit of gunnery and the detriment of shipping. The level bank, twenty to thirty feet above the river, was bounded by swamps up stream and down stream. The whole lines of Humaita mounted 180 guns, but not above one-third of this number were serviceable. Some of them were so honey-combed that they must have been used as street posts. There were sundry quaint old tubes bearing the arms of Spain, and dated about 1680. The evacuation of Humaita by the Paraguayans took place in July 1868. The residue of the garrison crossed the river into the country called the Gran Chaco, and threw up an entrenchment, which was immediately assailed by the allies. After defending themselves for ten days they were prevailed upon to surrender. Captain Burton visited the ground which they had occupied. Fresh traces of the struggle still lay around, and everything spoke of the powerful and vehement nationality of Paraguay. The miserable remains of personal property told eloquently of the heart which the little republic had thrown into the struggle. The poor rags, ponchos of door-rug, were rotting like those that wore them. This personal inspection of the site of the latest struggle impressed Captain Burton with a belief in Paraguayan strength of purpose which subsequent events have justified. In a cemetery at Humaita he found inscriptions showing that this people carried warlike discipline even beyond the grave. They wanted only the newest appliances which civilization owes to Whitworth and other inventors to make their cause pleasing to the gods. They were supplied by their enemies with plenty of Whitworth's shells, which, from some blunder, did not explode, and they bored a gun to send the shells back to the place from which they came. The author thinks that Humaita might easily have been taken by a desperate attack on the land side; but the terrible check at Curupaity deterred the allies from any enterprising movement.

A great part of the operations of the allies may be well described as "making war upon the Treasury." The crews of the ironclads used to breakfast, steam up the river, bang away at anything or nothing that they saw, and return to dinner. This, says the author, is comfortable, but it is not war. The expense of these operations in proportion to the results of them must have been enormous, and the expedition was perhaps more wasteful than even our own in the Crimea. But it seems that in the course of civilization war is made more and more for the benefit of contractors. The contrast between the well-fed, well-clothed Brazilians and the naked, starving Paraguayans recurs again and again

in our author's pages. The Brazilian and Argentine officers were personally brave, but their respect for Paraguayan valour made their progress so deliberate as to excite suspicion of timorous or treacherous procrastination. After the fall of Humaita Lopez retired further up the river, and sustained several battles before abandoning his capital Asuncion. At Loma Valentina, which the author visited, 4,000 Paraguayans and 3,000 Brazilians fell. It was the hardest fighting of the whole war. The Paraguayan lines were forced, and the numerous Brazilian cavalry might easily have captured Lopez. But Marshal Caxias only sent infantry in pursuit. In any European service such a general would have been brought to a court martial, but in Brazil he was made a duke.

Not the least of the difficulties of this war were the jealousy and hatred which prevailed among the allies. The contingent of the Banda Oriental was annihilated early in the struggle and was not renewed. The Argentines and Brazilians agreed as well as cat and dog. In the last year of the war the Argentines retired from the business, and the final defeat and death of Lopez has been the work of Brazil alone. It appears that Lopez showed in his last field that resolution which had often failed before. He was fond of comparing his own career to that of Napoleon, whom he indeed resembled in the power which he possessed of making soldiers fight heroically for the selfish purposes of their general. But in one respect he differs from Napoleon. He has not survived the final ruin of his hopes. There will now be peace in the solitude which once was Paraguay. The survivors of her soldiers should be carefully preserved for the sake of a breed of heroes.

DIXON'S FREE RUSSIA.*

AMONG the tales of olden days which are current among the Russian peasantry, one of the most popular is that which tells how Ilya Muromets lay beside the stove in his father's hut during the first thirty years of his life, a cripple of feeble frame, and apparently of weak intellect. But the story goes on to say that at last a sudden change was wrought in him; he became an instant strong both in body and in mind; resources of which no one had suspected the existence developed themselves within him, and after a brief interval of rapid growth, "not by years but by days," he left his father's humble roof, and went forth into the world a mighty warrior who drove before him the enemies of his country and his faith, till in a short time his fame had gone abroad to all lands. This national hero has long been looked upon as the type of the Russian people; his rapid growth and his sudden accession to power and renown being supposed to signify the speed with which a nation which for a long time was despised by the outer world, and which could scarcely maintain its existence under the repeated blows dealt it by the Poles on the one side, and by its Asiatic invaders on the other, suddenly rose from its abject position, put forth a strength of which it had not itself been conscious, drove its enemies out of its gates, and after freeing itself from the yoke of the foreigner, consolidated its own power, until it was able to go forth conquering and to conquer, extending its frontiers on all sides and incorporating land after land, until from a petty principedom it became one of the mightiest empires in the world. It was to these political and military successes that the story of Ilya was long supposed to point, but of late a new rendering has been given to the legend, and (as M. Faucher remarked in the interesting article on Russian Land Tenure which he contributed to the volume recently published by the Cobden Club) the doughty deeds of the national hero may now be interpreted in a more peaceful sense. It is to the mass of the Russian people that his story may now be supposed to apply—to that great body of its peasantry which has long lain low, "fastened to the land" like some huge vanquished Titan, subjected to all manner of hardship and contumely, everywhere forced to struggle against an inclement climate, and in many parts to maintain a life-long contest with the stubbornness of a sterile soil, and during all these often desperate battles with the hostile forces of nature, exposed to all the adverse influences which sprang from the slavery in which it was held by a small but all-powerful section of its fellow-men. That slavery has now come to an end, and Russian patriots deem that there is good reason to hope that the people which has so long groaned under it may, now that its limbs are unfettered, rise from the dust in which it has so long lain, move forward with giant strides upon the path of progress, and in a short time make its name known and honoured in every quarter of the world; not, however, for military successes, but for victories won in the peaceful domains of agriculture and commerce.

Few books could at the present moment be more interesting than one which should faithfully record the impressions of an intelligent and well-informed traveller in Russia—not a tourist simply bent upon idle sightseeing, but a student who would give himself the trouble patiently to investigate the social problems which are being worked out in the country, and who would then lay before us in well-considered shape the results at which he had deliberately arrived. Such a traveller would become, as Mr. Grant Duff remarked, the "Arthur Young of Russia," and his work would be certain to do a right good service, and would probably enjoy a long lease of life. Such a work as this remains to be written, but we have now before us a book which, although it by

* *Free Russia.* By W. Hepworth Dixon, Author of "New America," "Her Majesty's Tower," &c. 2 vols. London: Hurst & Blackett. 1870.

no means comes up to the standard to which we hope some traveller in Russia may yet attain, still contains a great deal that is worthy of careful attention, and is likely to produce a very useful effect upon its readers. As a text-book Mr. Dixon's *Free Russia* cannot satisfy a judge who brings any previous knowledge to bear upon the subject. He has had the courage to grapple with a number of exceedingly difficult problems, and to give a decided opinion upon a variety of questions to which few scholars, even amongst those who have devoted years of patient study to their consideration, would venture to give a rapid and unhesitating reply. And the consequence is that he has been betrayed into a number of errors, some of them perhaps of no great importance, but all of them certain to be very irritating to those Russian students who have modestly expressed their doubts about the enigmas which Mr. Dixon has found so little difficulty in solving. But although his book will not satisfy readers who have lived in Russia, or who are familiar with what its own writers have said about the country, it will be certain not only to interest, but greatly to please, the main body of its readers, and it deserves to do so. It will convey to them views of Russia which they will probably find very novel and not a little astonishing; it will open up before them a vast country of which they scarcely know anything, but which they certainly ought to study. And the views which will be thus conveyed to them are on the whole sufficiently correct, the points on which they are faulty not being such as are of essential importance to general readers. They will be able to gather from Mr. Dixon's pages a fair idea of what Russian scenery is like, whether the spectator's point of view be on the barren shores of the White Sea or on the vast undulations of the Eastern Steppes, whether the landscape be dark with gloomy forests, between which stand the grey and melancholy villages of the north, or whether it shines bright with the golden wave which autumn rolls around the thriving homesteads of the south. And what is of far more importance is, that Mr. Dixon offers to his readers a series of pictures of the inhabitants of those regions which will suffice to place the Russian peasant in what, for the majority of Englishmen, will be an entirely new light. Very few of the travellers who at various times have scamped through Russia have done anything like justice to the good features in the character of its downtrodden people, but Mr. Dixon can justly claim the merit of having done so. And it is a great point that a writer who is likely to be so widely read should have devoted his energies to demolishing a vulgar prejudice, and setting up a sound opinion in its place. So much of our information about the Russia of the present day is derived from hostile sources, or transmitted through unfriendly channels, that it is a great advantage for the public to be made acquainted with the opinions formed upon the spot, by so shrewd and politically unprejudiced a visitor as Mr. Dixon, on the working of those great measures of reform which the present Emperor has carried out. In his sympathy with the accomplishes of those reforms we entirely agree with Mr. Dixon, and we hope that the chapters will be carefully studied in which he so enthusiastically describes what has been done to render the slave of olden days a free man, to make justice a reality instead of the cruel mockery which it used to be, to raise the characters of holders of office, and to do away with the corruption which so long disgraced the public service, to improve the condition and to develop the self-respect of the private soldier, to attack the crass ignorance of the common people and to introduce in its stead at least some elementary rudiments of knowledge, to open out before the upper classes some better fields for their energies than those which sensual indulgence or frivolous amusement can afford, and finally to work a much-required change in the character and the condition of the clergy—to break up the system under which the priestly order had stiffened into a caste, and to strike a blow against the power of that great army of monks which has so long tyrannized over the Russian Church. Into the questions connected with the majority of these reforms Mr. Dixon has gone at length, and we hope that he may succeed in inducing his readers to arrive at most of the conclusions which he has himself formed.

But although we have commended the general bearing of Mr. Dixon's book, we are bound to say that we have much fault to find with its details. When he speaks of what he actually saw in Russia we can listen to him with respect and with advantage, whether he be describing the distant convent of Solovetsk, so rarely visited by a Western pilgrim, or the northern wastes through which he drove on his way from Archangel to St. Petersburg, or the cemetery of the Old Believers at Moscow, or the dismal burrows of the wretched fanatics who haunt the catacombs of Gethsemane, or the Tartar schools which he inspected at Kazan, or the villages along the Don in which he investigated the life led by his friends the Kozaks. And we may here take the opportunity of saying that Mr. Dixon deserves great credit for having thrown over the barbarous fashion of writing Russian names which we have derived from German sources, and for having adopted a rational system of transliteration. But when he leaves the safe ground of personal experience, and launches forth on the perilous sea of speculation, he becomes an unsafe guide. It is almost impossible for any one who relies upon what has been written about Russia in French or English, or even in German, to avoid falling into serious errors if he attempts to deal with the vexed questions either of the much criticized present or of the but faintly recorded past. We have no wish to dwell upon the mistakes into which, as it seems to us, Mr. Dixon has, not unnaturally, been led; but, in order to prove that we are not speaking at random when we lay

them to his charge, we are obliged to point out a few of them. Mr. Dixon devotes a great part of his book—in our opinion by far too great a part—to the Orthodox Church and the various bodies which dissent from it. What he says in dispraise of the monks appears to be correct, but we utterly refuse to accept the fancy picture he draws of the parish priest, and the relations which exist between him and his flock. It is almost as rose-coloured as the romantic sketches with which Madame Romanoff has favoured us in her book on the Russian Church. We do not wish to endorse all the abuse which has been heaped by various writers on the village pope, unlettered as he generally is, drunken and degraded as he too often may be; yet we cannot but smile at Mr. Dixon's portrait of the "patient priest," whose presses are loaded by "a heap of books," at whose door sits "a pale and comely wife," and whose boys pass their time in "singing, with soft, sad faces, one of their ritual psalms." And as for the "child-like duty and respect" with which his parishioners treat him, "even when he is a tipsy, idle fellow," we were lost in amazement when we read about it; for, genuinely religious as the Russian peasant seems to be, and grossly superstitious as he really is, he is singularly wanting in respect for the ministers of his religion. We are inclined to think that Mr. Dixon must have taken his ideas about the clergy from the same informant who told him that the number of parish priests in Russia was "six hundred and ten thousand"—that is to say, who made them about eleven times as numerous as they really are.

If we pass from the priests to their flocks, we find some singularly novel statements about peasant life. We agree so entirely with Mr. Dixon in almost all he says about the emancipation that we are very unwilling to find fault with the remarks he has made about the origin of serfdom. But it is impossible to pass over such wild assertions as the following:—

Boris Godunof . . . reduced the principle of serfage into legal form (1601). An able and patriotic man, . . . he meant no harm to the rustic—on the contrary, he hoped to do him good . . . and after taking counsel with his boyars, he selected the festival of St. George, the patron of free cities and of the ancient Russians, for his announcement that every peasant in the empire should in future till and own for ever the lands which he then tilled and held.

Any one would suppose from this that the "patriotic man" had hit upon St. George's Day in consequence of a kind of "happy thought," when in reality he chose it because the *Sudebnik* of 1497 had fixed it as the day on which the peasant might change from one employer's land to another's. A little further on Mr. Dixon says, "There is reason to believe that this festival of St. George (in 1601) was hailed by peasant and boyar as a glorious day; that the decree which established serfage in Russia was accepted as a great and popular reform." Now if a Russian author were to visit England, and inform his countrymen on his return that "James II. was an able and patriotic man, who lost his throne because he loved the common people too well," he would naturally be asked for proofs of this startling assertion. Mr. Dixon may have had some recently discovered evidence placed at his disposal, but in that case he might have informed us what it was. Failing such new lights, we can only turn to the exhaustive work on the Serfs published (in Russian) by N. Byelaef in 1860. His words seem decisive:—

From the very commencement, the definition of the right of migration on the part of the peasants from one property to another . . . seemed exceedingly oppressive, as well to the proprietors of the soil as to the peasants; both classes considered the ukase as an open violation of their established rights.

We may add that Boris Godunof's reduction of "the principle of serfage into legal form" really took place in 1591 or 1593, when he fastened the peasants to the soil. But so unpopular did the measure prove that in 1602 he to a certain extent abrogated it—a change which no doubt was accepted by the peasant as "a great and popular reform."

But the question seems scarcely to be worthy of being argued, at all events until Mr. Dixon lets us know on what new evidence he has come to so strange a conclusion. The truth seems to be that he has been carried away by a theory which he has set up for himself about the immense influence exerted by the Tartars upon the Russians. To this he attributes all sorts of changes, and by this, in our opinion, he has been constantly misled. When he says of Ivan the Terrible that "if he destroyed the princes and boyars as a ruling caste, he put into their places the Tartar *chins*," he seems to have been led astray by his favourite theory in two separate directions. If Mr. Dixon has new lights by which to read the past, why does not he mention the fact? There is one point in particular on which we wish he had spoken more plainly. In the Library of the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, he says, "You turn over the leaves of an early copy . . . of 'Nestor's Chronicle,' in which are many fine drawings . . . helping you to understand the text . . . The pictures . . . give you the Russian in his dress, his garb, and his ways of life. Was he in that early time an Asiatic, dressed in a sheepskin robe and a sheepskin cap? In no degree. The Russian boyar dressed like a German knight; the Russian mujik dressed like an English churl." Now this seems decisive, but before yielding the point, and admitting that the old Slavonians were Westerns whom the Tartars orientalized, we should like to know whether Mr. Dixon satisfied himself by personal inspection that the MS. was all he has represented it to be, or whether he took his facts from Murray's *Handbook for Russia*, in which we are told (on the authority of the editor who preceded Mr. Michell) that the MS. in question "is ornamented

with numerous illuminations, which show that the earlier costumes of the Russians were the same as those of England, France, or Germany; the present Asiatic dress having been only introduced since the fourteenth century." On this point we do not presume to contradict Mr. Dixon, but we wish he had been more explicit. Nor do we dispute the fact that the Tartars left behind them many traces of their rule. What we wish to protest against is the habit some controversialists have of ascribing to the Tartars everything in Russia which is tinged with Orientalism. They seem entirely to forget that the Slavonians originally came from the East, and that the Russians are cousins—distant ones, it is true—of the dark-skinned gipsies who chatter among themselves in what used to be an Indian dialect, as they lounge about the tea-gardens in the suburbs of Moscow.

We had noted several other passages in which Mr. Dixon has stated very doubtful facts, or expressed opinions from which we widely differ, but we have not space to discuss them now. Some of them, indeed, are not very important; as, for instance, that in which the murders committed by Ivan Gorski are quoted as an instance of the crimes committed by Russian peasants, he having been, in reality, a noble and a Pole. But even if they were of greater weight, we should prefer to leave them unnoticed, and to bring our remarks on Mr. Dixon's book to a close by a reference rather to its merits than to its defects. The ignorance of the English people with respect to Russia has long been so disgracefully dense that we cannot avoid being grateful to a writer who has taken the trouble to make personal acquaintance with that seldom visited land, and to bring before the eyes of his countrymen a picture of its scenery and of its people which is so novel and so interesting that it can scarcely fail to arrest their attention, and, let us hope, to dispel much of their ignorance.

ROGERS'S HISTORICAL GLEANINGS.—SECOND SERIES.*

THIS is in some points an improvement on Mr. Rogers's first series. The English is better, and there are fewer mistakes. But Mr. Rogers has hardly done justice to himself on a subject on which we should have expected something really good from his hand. In the Lecture on Wiclif—we adopt Mr. Rogers's spelling for the nonce—we certainly looked to see him put forth his full strength. On many points belonging to the history of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Mr. Rogers is known to be an authority. Few people have studied their economical and social aspect more carefully. And there can be no doubt that the theological movement of the fourteenth century was closely connected with its political and social movements. We might therefore have fairly looked from Mr. Rogers for a portrait of Wiclif clearly and vigorously drawn in its personality, and put into its proper relation to all that was going on in Wiclif's busy age. But Mr. Rogers gives us nothing of the kind. There is a little about Wiclif, a little about the Black Death, a little about the Papacy, a little about the revolt of the villains. But all is disjointed; all is loosely shovelled together, without any attempt to work the different parts into an harmonious whole. We come upon the end of the lecture quite suddenly, without any sign that we were drawing near the end. This is always a sign of a composition being badly put together. In short, if we want to know about Wiclif, we must still go to Dr. Shirley. We had really thought that Mr. Rogers would have added to our knowledge of him; but he has not.

The next lecture, that on Laud, pleases us more than that on Wiclif. We believe Mr. Rogers to be always thoroughly honest and thoroughly in earnest, and to be at the bottom anxious to deal fairly by those who think differently from himself. In the controversies of the seventeenth century he of course takes a side quite opposite to that taken by Laud, but he wholly avoids that tone of excessive depreciation which is so often taken up by Laud's enemies. In this respect we look on Lord Macaulay himself as no small offender. The faults of Laud—quite irrespectively of what Mr. Rogers or ourselves or any one else may think of his religious or political views—were neither few nor small; but he certainly was not the utterly contemptible person which he is often represented. The mere fact that most of his reforms or innovations took root and remain in general use shows that he was not. The very bitterness with which his enemies pursued him shows that he was not. To the better side of Laud's character Mr. Rogers does full justice, and something more than justice; he shows full and sympathetic appreciation of it. It is certain that learning never had a more bountiful or a more discerning patron. And whatever we may think of the cause for which he died, he at least showed throughout his sufferings the highest spirit of the true martyr. The following passage does Mr. Rogers honour:—

Before this, however, Strafford had passed to the scaffold, and Laud to the prison from which, after four years' detention, he also went to his death. It is said that he might have escaped had he tried, but that he preferred to abide his fortune. Whatever were his faults, no one could charge him with want of fortitude. He bore his imprisonment bravely, busied himself in writing an account of his troubles, and seems to have behaved with dignity to those who insulted his old age and misfortunes. He had been an adviser of tyranny, but he had none of that cowardly meanness, that abject craving for forgiveness, which the brutal instruments of oppression exhibit when they are driven to extremities. Laud waited in Lambeth till he was arrested

by Parliament, and went to the Tower with gravity and composure. Jeffreys disguised himself as a sailor, and hid himself in a pothouse in Wapping.

The other two lectures, those on Wilkes and Horne Tooke, come nearer to our own time, and are more strictly biographical. That of Wilkes is almost wholly so; that of Horne Tooke, though biographical in its shape, is very distinctly written with a purpose. In these more modern subjects Mr. Rogers succeeds much better than when he goes away into earlier times. In fact Mr. Rogers has not an historical mind. He is essentially a political partisan of the present day. For a political partisan his fairness of spirit and his independence of thought are often very remarkable. But he shows no sign of studying history for its own sake; he has no grasp of history as a whole, no power of vividly calling up any particular past age. He seems to care for this or that age or person only so far as they bear on this or that modern question. In this he is to some extent like M. Beulé; but if he is utterly without M. Beulé's brilliance and his power of sketching life-like portraits, he shows also far more earnestness, far less striving for effect, than M. Beulé. M. Beulé no doubt means what he says; still we are sure that in saying it he enjoys the joke. With Mr. Rogers there is no joking at all; every word is in deadly earnest. We see that he is thinking of modern controversies throughout. The lecture on Horne Tooke is really a pamphlet on behalf of the removal of clerical disabilities. It would have been better to have given it that form, and to have brought in Horne Tooke and his case simply as part of the argument. In that argument we are nearly at one with Mr. Rogers, though we think that he rather confounds two distinct questions, the indelibility of holy orders and the Act forbidding the clergy to sit in the House of Commons. The indelibility of holy orders is in itself a purely theological dogma, as much so as transubstantiation or the doctrine of assurance. The political question is how far the temporal power should recognise it. The law clothes the clergy with certain privileges, and it subjects them to certain special disqualifications and to a certain special jurisdiction. The question is whether a man should be allowed at will to throw off the burdens and resign the privileges which the law attaches to the clerical character. But the question whether the State should in any way enforce the theological dogma of the indelibility of holy orders is quite distinct from the question whether it is expedient to allow clergymen to sit in the House of Commons. A clergyman may wish for a seat in the House of Commons without in any way wishing to throw off his clerical character. It cannot be said that sitting in Parliament is inconsistent with the clerical character as long as a clerical peer takes his seat in the House of Lords as naturally as a layman, as long as one class of the clergy actually have seats in the House of Lords by virtue of their ecclesiastical offices. The true way of looking at the question is whether it is right to fetter the free choice of the electors in this particular way. It is not likely that many constituencies will choose clerical representatives, but if any constituency chooses to do so, why should it be hindered? A great number of clergymen in a Parliament would doubtless be an evil; but so is a great number of lawyers, a great number of soldiers, a great number of railway directors. But in all these cases the matter is left to the sense of the constituencies, and it might surely be left in the case of the clergy also. We are supposing a clerical member who in no way shirks his clerical character, any more than the legal or military member shirks his legal or military character. It would sound queer at first, but "the honourable and reverend member" is in no way more absurd in itself than "honourable and learned," or "honourable and gallant." But granting this, it does not at all follow that a clergyman should be allowed to cast off his clerical character at discretion. We are far from saying that he should not be allowed, for there may be strong reasons why he should. This, however, is a point which we are not now discussing. We only say that the two questions are wholly distinct, and that Mr. Rogers shows a certain tendency to mix them together. We cannot in the least see that "the passing of Horne Tooke's Act has given an enormous impulse to official sacerdotalism."

So again with regard to University matters, Mr. Rogers has played a part which we have always watched with interest and sympathy. Always among the most fearless, on most points among the most advanced, of reformers, there are points on which Mr. Rogers has separated himself from the bulk of his party, and has stuck to common sense and common justice at the risk of being called an old fogey by every clever young man who each term brings out a new scheme for reconstituting the University—perhaps the universe. Now it is fair enough, when treating of Laud, to denounce the Hebdomadal Board. But Mr. Rogers has his head always full of questions of academical, as of political, controversy; they are the medium through which he looks at everything. Take for instance the wind-up to the lecture on Wiclif. There is a great deal of truth in it, but hardly any one but Mr. Rogers would have thought of it as a natural wind-up to a lecture on Wiclif:—

Wiclif's theories of civil and church government have endured to our time, but the precedent which Courtenay established, of constraining the University to submit to ecclesiastical authority, did not fall of its fruit. Succeeding prelates and monarchs found out that there was no better way of checking free thought in the centres of intellectual activity than by subjecting the Universities to clerical control; and so Elizabeth sent her commissioners to expel Papists and Puritans; Laud applied himself, with his passive bigotry and eager liking for detail, to the same task, and with considerable success. Then, after the short-lived sway of the Puritans, the Act of Uniformity handed over by force of law these ancient institutions to

* *Historical Gleanings. A Series of Sketches: Wiclif—Laud—Wilkes—Horne Tooke.* By James E. Thorold Rogers. Second Series. London: Macmillan & Co. 1870.

ecclesiastical authority and intellectual darkness. To know what Oxford might be, we must search into the facts of those days, when, as Chancellor Rugge said, "No prelate has any authority whatever in the University, even on matters of faith," and must deliver Religion from the odious function of acting as the gaoler of intellectual energy.

Mr. Rogers in short is a pamphleteer, an honest and a vigorous pamphleteer. In that character we wish him good luck. Nay we are quite ready to welcome him in the character of an "honourable and reverend" M.P., if he can get the statute which he so much hates taken away. In these ways he may do good service. But his hold on history strictly so called is very weak. Take for instance his sketch of that French dominion in England which gradually changed into an English dominion in France:—

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Europe had no nationalities. A monarchy was a precarious and shifting suzerainty over provinces bound together by no closer tie than the monarch's inheritance. In the latter half of the twelfth century, Henry the Second of England, apart from such real or presumed authority as he exercised or claimed over these islands, held the uncontested inheritance of the whole seaboard of France. But such a monarchy was a mere geographical quantity. Its political cohesion was that of a rope of sand. It was held loosely together by Richard. It was lost by John. It was regained in part by Edward the First. Its fairest regions were recovered, and confirmed by treaty to Edward the Third, to be lost finally by the same monarch at the close of his reign.

We cannot think it right to say in this trenchant way that there were "no nationalities" in Europe, at least if by "nationalities" is meant "nations." Still it is certain that in many parts of Europe national feeling was weak, and then, as now, the limits of states and of nations did not always agree. But what a queer jumble Mr. Rogers has made of the whole thing. He evidently does not take in that, save for a moment in Edward the First's time, Bordeaux never departed from the allegiance of its Duke the King of England from 1154 to 1451. He seems to think that John lost all his Continental dominions, and we should like to examine him a little further as to the terms of the Peace of Bretigny. Just before, Mr. Rogers had made a praiseworthy attempt to distinguish Gaul north and south of the Loire, but it is an odd quagmire in which his struggles finally upset him:—

The most fertile and prosperous province of what is now called France had revolted from its spiritual allegiance to the faith of Rome, and the kingdom of Toulouse had been wasted by Montfort, at the bidding of the Pope.

Some way on again we read:—

The origin of those sentiments, which finally brought about a rupture between England and Rome, is a tradition derived from the jealousies which sprang out of the residence at Avignon, and the partial policy of the Papal Court. It had ceased to be international, it had voluntarily made itself the political thrall of the English enemy, and men became familiar with antipathy to an institution which might be perverted to interested or unjust ends.

Now really, has Mr. Rogers never read Matthew Paris? Does he not know that, long before Popes went to Avignon, England had produced a "Domini Papæ redargutor manifestus, Romanorum malleus et contemptor"? Nay, one might say that the sentiments of which Mr. Rogers speaks were not wholly unknown when Cenwulf of Mercia forestalled the legislation of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries by forbidding any one to bring into his dominions any letters from either the Pope or the Emperor.

Elsewhere it strikes one as odd to call Adam of Murimuth, Adam of Monmouth—at least, if Murimuth means Monmouth, it would be as well to say so and not to take it for granted. And certainly the Plague of London did not happen in 1662 (p. 19).

Mr. Rogers puts in his title-page the lines

Cenae fercula nostræ
Mallei convivis quam placuisse coquis.

We have a vague notion that "coqui" may possibly mean reviewers. From that professional point of view we must say that the banquet is not dressed as it ought to be; at the same time it very largely consists of very wholesome meat, and we can sincerely wish the guests a good appetite and a good digestion.

EASTWARD.*

DR. NORMAN MACLEOD seems to have felt an unwonted degree of reluctance in inditing for the press the record of his experiences in the East. It is with a manifest and painful effort that he girds up the loins of his mind or will to the task. We note in his prefatory sentences a hesitation and a coyness altogether anomalous on the part of such a veteran in popular literature, one so thoroughly practised in catering for the mental needs either of his special flock or of the public at large. He seems in a manner painfully fishing for a reason to justify himself, in his own eyes or those of his readers, either in venturing on the expedition at all, or in committing his impressions to paper. Mr. Disraeli, it will be remembered, devoted a whole chapter of his *Life of Lord George Bentinck* to the enumeration of the reasons which did not actuate the subject of his memoir in supporting the Jews' admission to the franchise. Dr. Norman opens with disclaiming four motives at the least, any one of which might have passed under ordinary circumstances for intelligible and sufficient inducements to write. In the absence of the first and unhappily too common reason for seeking an Eastern climate we sincerely rejoice, both for

his own sake and that of the public. "I was not," he begins, "ordered by 'the doctors' to visit the East for the good of my health, which, I am thankful to say, was and continues to be excellent." He was not deputed by the Church to which he feels it an honour to belong to undertake a missionary tour. Nor did he propose to himself "the vain attempt of writing a book describing the East for the thousandth time, whether in the form of 'letters,' 'tour,' 'diary,' 'sketches,' 'thoughts,' or 'pictures.'" He even protested to his "excellent publisher and fellow traveller against preparing a single article for the pages of *Good Words*." To keep silence so utter and so severe as this was yet manifestly a pain and grief to him too heavy to be borne. Accordingly, to our renewed satisfaction, we find the fire kindle, and at the last he speaks with his tongue or pen. We would on no account have had him debarred from an excursion so fraught with benefit and pleasure, or ourselves cheated of a narrative of travel so true to nature, so full of quick and genuine feeling, and so overflowing with genial and kindly humour. We can for once afford to rejoice that the *cacothés scribendi* which he modestly puts forward as his ultimate apology proved in this case irrepressible. Albeit he has nothing particularly new to say upon a theme so hackneyed as that of Egypt, the Holy Land, or the Red Sea, and although he is conscious that all he has to say has "doubtless been said far better by some other before," there is notwithstanding so much natural good sense, and such keen appreciation of the scenery and the incidents of Eastern life, that we take him with pleasure as our companion over this well-trodden ground.

Our author judiciously abstains from all pretension to antiquarian lore, or to what is called scientific history. He has no ambition to settle offhand disputed questions of biblical geography, or the affinities of the Semitic tongues. He makes no show of solving the great enigma of the Pyramids, beyond the somewhat rash decision that the great pile of Cheops was "not built for a tomb," any more than for astronomical purposes or for idolatrous worship. He just mentions, without giving in to it, Professor Piazzi Smyth's craze about the British inch. "Our expedition," he is unaffected and manly enough to avow in face of the mysterious problem of the Dead Sea, "had not an atom of science in it here or elsewhere." Nor has he aught but contempt for what in certain authoritative quarters he has been given to understand, "that whatever coloured garments a clergyman may wear in Palestine, he is always to write as one who travels in gown and bands." We know not what degree of scandal may be caused at home by his unblushing confession of having been guilty of devoting his last Sunday in Jerusalem to a long and delightful walk along the Via Dolorosa, out by St. Stephen's Gate, through Gethsemane, and along the road which leads to Bethany and Jericho, until he was fairly tired, and glad of a quiet dreamy gaze from the natural resting-place of the slope of Olivet. It may be that the redeeming fact of his allowing himself in this more than Sabbath day's journey no companion but his Bible may screen the worthy traveller from such strife of tongues among the stricter portion of his flock, not to speak of the more official rigours of Kirk Session censorship. For ourselves we are ready to condone the enormity for the sake of the musings, serious and befitting the scene, yet never running into rhapsody or cant, which were suggested by his stroll round about Jerusalem. It is refreshing to commune thus with a mind genuinely devout, full of faith, yet at the same time eminently real and alive to the existing laws and conditions of things. That a pious and tender-hearted clergyman, while thoroughly at ease and secure in the panoply of his profession, can yet make prudent provision for other exigencies than those of spiritual combat, is happily instanced in the revolver which Dr. Norman Macleod was judicious enough to include in his travelling equipment. In fact, the revolver is an article which he recommends amongst things indispensable to the tourist in the East. Let not, however, the worthy pastor's flock look aghast at so bellicose a demonstration. Not murder, but brag, is the final cause of this warlike array. The weapon "looks heroic, fierce, and dangerous." But the owner and wearer recommends it as "much safer for himself and others, much more economical, as well as more agreeable for himself and other parties, that he should leave the powder and ball in England till his return." It must have been not a little startling to himself as well as to the Custom-house officers, to find this peaceable weapon, after all, fully loaded on his return from the East. It turned out that the loading was the work of Hadji Ali, the faithful dragoman, as a preliminary to taking his party across the "Pirate Gulf" of the Hauran. Our excellent traveller himself had shown most characteristic ingenuity in arming himself with a weapon, new we should think, but of singular service to adventurers in savage or hostile lands:—

I had provided a talisman wherewith to "soothe the savage breast." I selected it for *à priori* reasons, founded on human nature, before leaving London. Instead of taking powder and shot, I took—could the reader ever guess what?—a musical snuff-box, to conquer the Arabs; and the experiment succeeded far beyond my most sanguine expectations. Whenever we pitched our tent near a village, as on this occasion, and produced the box as a social reformer, we had soon a considerable number of people, old and young (the females keeping at a respectful distance), crowding round us, inquisitively but not disagreeably. When the box was wound up, and the tinkling sounds were heard, they gazed on it with an expression more of awe and fear than of wonder. It was difficult to get any one to venture near it, far less to allow it to touch his head. But once this was accomplished, it was truly delightful to see the revolution which those beautiful notes, as they sounded clear and loud through the Arab skull, produced upon the features of the listener. The anxious brow was smoothed, the

* *Eastward: Travels in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria*. By Norman Macleod, D.D., one of the Deans of the Chapel Royal in Scotland. London: Strahan & Co. 1869.

black eye was lighted up, the lips were parted in a broad smile which revealed the ivory teeth, and the whole man seemed to become humanised as he murmured with delight, "tayeeb, tayeeb" (good, good). When once the fears of one were dispelled, the others took courage, until there was a general scramble and competition, from the village patriarch down to his grandchildren, to hear the wonderful little box which could ring such marvellous music through the brain. We respectfully recommend the small "musical snuff-box" to travellers. Even at sea, when the storm on deck blows loudly, and the waves are rude and boisterous, and the passengers sleepy or unamiable, and reading difficult, and the thoughts not bright, they will find that the box—never sea-sick—wound up and allowed to twitter and tinkle old familiar airs, will prove a very cheerful companion. But let me warn any traveller following us in our route, should he hear an Arab attempting to sing "Home, sweet home," or "*Ah, che la morte*," not to attribute too hastily a purely Eastern origin to these airs.

Once some unknown horsemen swooped suddenly down upon the party, most of whom gallantly prepared their pistols, though "minus both powder and shot." The highwaymen, as they were taken to be, dismounting, demanded first of all of course *back-sheesh*, then powder—*Burūd*, our author thinks was the word. With infinite presence of mind the magical box was wound up and placed upon the heads of the seeming rogues, by way "of inviting them to more peaceful ideas." The usual results followed. "There were the delighted expressions of '*Tayeeb! tayeeb!*' with the invariable exhibition of beautiful ivory teeth, framed in a most pleasant smile." True, the fierce robbers who were thus disenchanted of their designs upon our travellers' purses or lives turned out to be a detachment of Turkish police. Nevertheless the idea is one that we most cordially recommend to the notice of Eastern travellers, whether clerical or lay. We certainly ourselves shall never henceforth be caught venturing in deserts or savage haunts without the talisman of a musical-box. It is not every traveller, though, that can accompany or diversify its melody, as Dr. Norman Macleod usually did, by a performance on the Jews' harp. We are amused to hear that since the grand occasion which brought high-class music to the ears of the Gibeonites an English marquis has been beset upon the same spot with applications for a display of "Hakim Pasha's art."

A few Roman candles were brought into play at sundry times, as a delight to friendly Arabs, and a wholesome terror to evil designers. With no less sagacious insight into native character, our conciliatory and friendly traveller speaks of the effect which might be produced by a variety of amusing toys, a grotesque mask, and the like harmless means of charming and propitiating these children of the desert. A further so-called necessary of ordinary travelling—a medicine-chest—is pronounced by Dr. Norman Macleod "very useful and respectable," though with the proviso that it is never used except when the cook or muleteer wishes to avail himself of some of its "unemployed operatives." From his judicious use of its resources was derived his honorary title of *hakim* to the party. His own hale and vigorous stamina, we are glad to find, raised our traveller throughout above the resort to medicinal aids, especially of the amateur kind. Not even in the unexampled fierceness of the wild Levanter did a qualm of sea-sickness reach his hardy fibre and firmly beating pulses. Seldom are we given to see so sound a mind in so sound a body, seldom at once so enviable a physique and a mind so clear of cant. For sheer might of bulk and muscle we might bespeak the witness of the hapless Arab who tottered with this son of Anak on his back to the Asiatic shore of the Red Sea, or of the Hammam attendant at Cairo, who, struggling to clasp the mighty girth prostrate upon the bath-floor, "gave it up in despair, and for the first time probably in his life wiped his forehead from fatigue, as he exclaimed '*Mushallah!*'" It is not every grave and orthodox minister of the Kirk who can brave, not only the great and terrible wilderness, but the anathemas of the "Anti-Tobacco Society," so openly as to give advice about buying the best cigars, and, defying alike the false prophet and the Teetotal League, confess to finding a little good cognac at the end of a long day's journey very helpful to his "often infirmities." Not less liberal is he in his keeping of Good Friday, or in his appreciation of the Church of England service, which he has read, he tells us, for months to a congregation abroad. He has also read the Burial Service at sea, and has communicated with gratitude at Anglican altars. The shade of Dr. Lee may take comfort from seeing his mantle so worthily borne by a successor in the conflict with narrowness and intolerance. It is true that our author's ideal of Church of England ritual does not soar above the modified exhibition of it which satisfies "S. Angl. Hierosol." What offends us most in the generally good taste and correct style of his narrative is the unnecessary dragging in of home phrases and ideas in connexion with purely Oriental themes. There is a provincial twang bordering on vulgarity in speaking of Potipherah as the "parish minister of Heliopolis." Are we to picture to ourselves the priest of On living in a manse, or the worship of Amen-ra going on after the fashion of a Presbyterian chapel? We should as soon conceive Joseph delated before the Kirk Session. What idea, again, are we to get from comparing the Sphinx to an "Egyptian Mrs. Conrady, whom no power could invest with beauty?" and in what sort of taste is the suggestion of a "most gigantic small-pox from the battering-rams of Cambyzes having destroyed the smoothness of her skin"? On the whole, however, Dr. Macleod writes with a degree of clearness, good sense, and absence of effort which makes his pages pleasure to read.

Without pretending to scientific topography or authoritative determination of vexed questions of site, our author contrives to give a very fair and full impression of the natural features of the Holy Land, with its most famed and sacred relics, and invests

its scenery and monuments alike with much reality and life. Aided by his slight outline maps, and one or two good illustrations, the unlearned reader will find himself very much at home in his descriptions of places and objects. Abstruse discussions of antiquarian or ethnological points, as we have said, are wisely eschewed by our guide. Where, in the sole instance of the Temple area and site, he had fallen like everybody else into the weakness of dogmatizing, he has found it necessary to "withdraw the whole of his theory." Upon the central problem of the Dome of the Rock Dr. Macleod now discreetly limits himself to enumerating the leading theories which divide the topographers of the Holy Places. To his simple good sense what seems the "most improbable and astounding" of them all is that of Mr. Fergusson. He might have used here stronger language still. To conceive the true site of the Sepulchre having been in the very centre of what is now the Haram Area, if not where stood the Holy of Holies itself, yet where must have been one of the most thronged and busy quarters of the sacred hill—a garden "in the place where he was crucified," the burial-place of a private citizen, hewn in the solid rock, requiring to be closed by rolling a great stone to its mouth—is much like imagining a country gentleman of our time being allowed to bury a man put to death the same day as a criminal in a family vault just built in garden ground somewhere in the space around Newgate, or at least not further off than St. Paul's Churchyard. Crotchet for crotchet, we would as lief give in to the whole of the *Tree and Serpent* book, and believe Avebury and Stonehenge to be Buddhist toposes, built by Turanians from the Banks of the Kiasta or the mud of the Euphrates, in the sixth century of our era. But to go into matters like these lies beyond our present limits, as well as beyond the scope of Dr. Norman Macleod's little work, which we are not recommending for its critical importance, but for its truthful, plain, and sensible record of a highly interesting tour.

RECREATIONS OF A RECLUSE.*

THE Abbé Faria, as the author of this book observes, discovered that a student might learn everything that it was necessary for a man to know by the careful perusal of about 150 works. Comte, we may add, reduced the library of the future to two-thirds of this very moderate amount. Whatever may be the precise number, there is no doubt that the fault of superficial reading of great masses of literature, instead of thoroughgoing study of a manageable quantity, is commoner than it should be; and this haste on the part of readers may be one good reason for neglect on the part of writers. The doctrine that we ought to read a little and to read that little well, is plausible, and, rightly understood, may be reasonable enough. The more satisfactory way of putting it would be, that we should not read so rapidly as to be unable to digest. An historian must of necessity turn over whole libraries, and from much of his reading he must be content to extract a very diminutive product in the shape of useful information. All that we can demand from him is that his knowledge should be thorough and systematic so far as it goes, and that every new fact which he acquires should be fitted into its proper place in his mind. He should form, in fact, a classified museum, not a miscellaneous collection of chaotic material. If put into a form which would fairly express this truth, the maxim to which the "*Recluse*" refers would be a very good one, and we could only wish that he had attended to it a little better himself. The "*Recreations*" which he has published consist of a strange literary mosaic brought together from divers places, and scarcely affecting to form anything like a connected whole. The general design may remind us of the *Anatomy of Melancholy*: not indeed that it indicates any very extensive research, or that it has even the degree of coherence which Burton secures by the ostensible purpose of his writing. The substance of the book, however, is of the same nature. We pass from one quotation to another in almost unbroken continuity from the first to the last page of the two volumes. There are little oases of original writing amidst these vast deserts of appropriated matter; but the *Recluse's* own remarks, such as they are, seem to be inserted rather like the stitches which serve to keep together an old-fashioned piece of patchwork, than as claiming any intrinsic interest. Now some interesting books have been put together by this process. The *Anatomy of Melancholy* itself, as we know, induced Dr. Johnson to get out of bed an hour earlier than usual, though we doubt whether many readers of the existing generation have really sympathized with his feelings; and it is certainly possible for a man of literary skill to amuse us by the simple process of emptying his scrap-book. The *Curiosities of Literature* and other works of the elder Disraeli afford very good amusement for a leisure hour, and there is something to be said even for the publication of a commonplace book pure and simple, as in the case of Southey. We may, however, safely assume that one of two conditions should be fulfilled. Either the author should have the rare talent of combining his heterogeneous bits of plunder so skillfully as really to give a certain unity of interest to the whole compilation; or he should have so much taste in his selections that the fragments will be worth reading by themselves, though no care has been taken with their setting. It is amusing to look into an old curiosity shop, where all kinds of odds and ends are piled together with no regard to symmetry, and we may

* *Recreations of a Recluse*. 2 vols. London: Richard Bentley. 1870.

sometimes find a house which the owner has adorned so skillfully with knickknacks of no particular value that the total effect is interesting. But if the separate fragments are neither rich nor rare, and if they are tumbled out upon the world in a state of utter confusion, the task of wading through them seems to be rather dispiriting. On the whole, we fear that, to be candid, we must place the *Recreations of a Recluse* rather in this latter class. He tells us that he has been driven by ill-health to take this mode of amusing himself. We may sympathize with his sufferings, and congratulate him on the possession of an innocent, or rather a praiseworthy, taste. But when we are invited to express our opinion upon his book, we cannot conscientiously recommend our readers to turn to it in search of very lively amusement. Here and there they may come across some scraps which they have not previously noticed, and may be interested by the comparison of parallel passages from different writers; but the reading indicated is neither extensive nor discriminating enough, nor does it lie in sufficiently remote corners, to afford very interesting study for genuine literary students.

As, however, some tastes may differ from our own upon these points, we will endeavour to give a more precise account of the nature of the performance. The *Recreations* are divided into a series of essays, each of which has some text, or, as the Recluse prefers to call it, some cue, which might occasionally promise well in the hands of a skillful writer. Thus, for example, we have in the first volume an essay about people's hair being turned white by grief, one about dunces at school who attained eminence in after-life, another upon the question whether the loss of appetite is a satisfactory test of mental affliction, and one about the likeness between an author and his book, and several others of a similar kind. We will take one of these at random, and see what the Recluse has to say about it. Let us look into the last, for example. We begin with an observation from Lord Lytton, who seems to be a great favourite with the Recluse, to the effect that people are generally like their books. The Recluse, however, thinks that shrewd men are often mistaken, and that Montaigne was probably wrong in assuming that Erasmus would talk epigrams to his hostess. Walton, again, tells us that Hooker did not come up to the expectations of his visitors. Similar statements are made about Kant, Young of the *Night Thoughts*, Rowe, and La Fontaine; and the *Newcomes* is quoted for the remark how Sandy McCollop, who painted the "Torture of the Covenanters," the "Young Duke of Rothsay Starving in Prison," and similar lively subjects, was "one of the most jovial souls alive." Christopher North's daughter thought that Ræburn's portrait of her father in his youth looked far too bland and mild; Washington Irving made a similar remark about Giffard; and Etty, Constable, Wordsworth, Handel, Leigh Hunt, Turner, Byron, and Dr. Channing all disappointed various observers. After a short excursion to France, with remarks about Voltaire's success in tragedies, Racine's personal mildness in spite of his literary irritability, De Maistre's personal pleasantness, and so on, interspersed with two or three Englishmen, we work back to the *Newcomes*, and are reminded that Miss Ethel Newcome watched an author with great curiosity to see whether he ate and drank like other people. Then we are told that the poet Mason was sullen and reserved—a fact which is in no way surprising—that Hayley was irritable, and that Rogers was amusingly described by Mrs. Trench, in an imaginary review of the year 1920, as exhibiting an "excess of meekness" in his daily life, the reviewer being supposed to judge entirely from his writings. Sainte-Beuve thinks that Rabelais would have disappointed people who expected to find in him a mere jovial buffoon. Godwin, of the *Political Justice* and *Caleb Williams* reputation, was singularly tranquil, and showed self-restrained dignity of manners. Miss Braddon declares in one of her novels that Mr. Sigismund Smith, a sensation writer for the masses, was a very mild young man in ordinary life. Dr. Chalmers declared, and we will leave to some of our readers to judge of the accuracy of the remark, that Mr. Carlyle's talk is not at all Carlylist. Perthes found the conversation of Jean Paul decidedly soporific. Goldsmith is, of course, brought out once more as talking like poor Poll. Somebody thought Burns "a silly chiel"; and it is disputed by some wise people whether Walter Scott did or did not satisfy their preconceived impressions. Finally, Hood, though a comic writer, appears to have been constitutionally melancholy.

Now we have no doubt but that out of this confused mass of materials a clever writer might make an amusing essay. A little more discretion as to what was and what was not valuable would indeed be desirable, for the Recluse has a taste, which is exhibited only on a small scale in the above, for collecting a number of quotations, not only from the *Saturday Review*—a practice which we at least are bound to commend—but from a number of obscure novelists; and it is not specially interesting to be told how many second-rate writers, for example, have compared the human face to different animals. There is something quaint in the notion of a man taking such a text for illustration, sitting down deliberately with a pair of scissors to clip appropriate passages out of the literature of circulating libraries, and solemnly serving it up as a new literary dish. But, if the rubbish were rejected and the more interesting parts properly arranged and investigated, some interesting results might be obtained. Thus we should begin, in the essay we have analysed, by a very obvious inquiry whether the astonishment produced in observers of eminent men was due to the peculiarities of the eminent man or of the spectator. If a lady sees Lord Byron,

and is amazed to find that he was dressed in the costume of the period, instead of resembling an Eastern corsair with a yataghan and a ferocious scowl, that only proves that romantic ladies are apt to draw very absurd inferences. Half the remarks quoted are mere passing observations from somebody who had caught a rapid glimpse of some remarkable man, whom he totally failed to understand. We should inquire a little more carefully what was the impression made by the person in question upon qualified observers, and upon people who had long-continued opportunities of intimacy with him. Walton, we are reminded, says that Hooker looked like "an absurd harmless man . . . of so mild and humble a nature that his poor parish clerk and he did never talk but with both their hats on and both off at the same time." But is there anything in the least degree surprising in this? Are not men of learning and philosophical ability very often mild and humble, and even disposed to talk affably with parish clerks? If any one thought that the author of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* would necessarily be six feet high, with an imposing presence and a manner indicative of sublime contempt for the rest of mankind, it only proved that that observer was blessed with a childish naïveté. Nor, again, should we be astonished to find a political fanatic mild and self-restrained in his manner. So far as we have observed, this, so far from being unusual, is almost a normal characteristic of fanatics; perhaps it is that they have felt the necessity of self-control, and are made unusually sensitive by the dislike which they are accustomed to arouse in their neighbours. The cause of the phenomenon, whatever it may be, might be an amusing inquiry, if the Recluse could only turn aside for a moment from his gush of quotations. Another contrast is equally common. That a humorous man should be melancholy is what we might naturally expect, for humour is precisely due to the combination of a deep sense of pathos with a keen eye for the incongruities of the world; and the humourist is powerful in proportion as he can make us cry and laugh at the same time. Another set of reflections might be suggested by the case of Goldsmith. There is nothing indeed mysterious about it. That a man of singular delicacy of taste should be over-excitabile, and stumble into infinite blunders while giving way to his natural impulsiveness, is certainly not surprising, any more than that another man should be irritable and sarcastic in private life, whilst in the calm of his study he can cultivate his tender emotions. Man is, after all, a highly complex being, and when he has a pen in his hand may produce a very different effect from that which comes out of him under the friction of ordinary society. A good many tunes can be played upon a fiddle, and man is a more complex instrument than a fiddle. A sensitive nature is generally shy, and is apt to be specially awkward under the process of lionization; and it is no wonder that many eminent writers should have turned a very unexpected side to the "interviewers" of the period.

We cannot, however, write an essay upon the topic ourselves. We only throw out these hints by way of suggesting how much must be done to work up the raw materials provided by the Recluse into anything like a coherent whole. We have a series of notes placed before us, good, bad, and indifferent; but we are left to supply the whole comment for ourselves; and the Recluse does not even venture, for the most part, to suggest any problems directly, much less does he offer a solution. When next he empties his scrap-books, we hope that he will turn his labour to rather more profitable account, instead of throwing down a heap of bricks before us, and leaving it to us to build the house.

VARIETIES OF VICE-REGAL LIFE.*

SIR WILLIAM DENISON informs us in his preface that the title of his volumes was suggested by the "temptation of the alliteration," and confirmed by the "difficulty of finding any other euphonious adjective." Reasons of this sort are of course not to be resisted, but we may observe in passing that the word Viceroy is not one which has ever grafted itself kindly on the English tongue, and that it sounds hardly less foreign than the *Vidam* or *Vidom* by the creation of which James I. hoped to replenish his coffers when the crop of persons willing to pay a thousand pounds a-head to be made baronets had been thoroughly reaped by His Majesty's agents. The two younger of the sister kingdoms have different tastes in matters of this sort. Every traveller to the Highlands is amused to hear the Queen habitually referred to as Her Majesty, and the amiable noblemen who play at making knights and kissing ladies on the other side of St. George's Channel are we believe frequently spoken of as Viceroys on St. Stephen's Green. But in England the title seems to be reserved by common consent for the splendid satraps of Mexico and Peru of the bygone times of the old Spanish monarchy, or the respectable stepson of the First Napoleon; and although the name only yesterday was bestowed, with unusual pomp and ceremony, upon Lord Canning, the public have already forgotten it, and persist in thinking that "Governor-General," ennobled for all time to come by Hastings and Welleley, is quite sufficient, not only for a Lawrence, but even for a Mayo.

Sir William Denison, like the Laureate's Will Waterproof, is "of a numerous house with many kinsmen" of position if not distinction. To confine ourselves to his brothers alone, we can

* *Varieties of Vice-Regal Life*. By Sir William Denison, K.C.B., late Governor-General of the Australian Colonies, and Governor of Madras. 2 vols. London: Longman & Co.

enumerate the present Speaker of the House of Commons; a late Bishop of Salisbury; a lower Church dignitary, the very Witherington of archdeacons; a colonel of light-infantry, converted into the Haussmann of the most populous city of India; a scholar, who on his deathbed translated Shakspeare's *Julius Caesar* into spirited and idiomatic Latin; and a private secretary, whose "tale" of slaughtered salmon moves the envy of every reader of *Land and Water* and the *Inverness Courier*. Men of such a family are sure to make their way in the world, but nevertheless, we are told, "the spring of 1846 found one a captain of engineers of five years' standing." At this time, when Sir Robert Peel's second Administration was drawing to its close, a sudden thought appears to have struck Mr. Gladstone (a man of many sudden thoughts) that, as the Governorship of Van Diemen's Land was vacant, the proper course was to apply to the Inspector of Fortifications for an officer qualified to fill it. We somewhat fail to see why that island, of all islands in the world, and on that occasion only, should have required a military engineer to rule over it; and as of course this highly connected captain had never been mentioned as a candidate for a colonial government, and as of course Mr. Gladstone was altogether uninformed of the selection which the Inspector of Fortifications would make, we cannot be sufficiently grateful to the good fortune which caused the lot to fall on one who has proved himself qualified to follow this particular career with credit to himself and benefit to the Empire. The arrangement, however, had a very narrow escape of breaking down at the threshold. Sir Robert Peel and his friends resigned before the commission was sealed, but Earl Grey, who succeeded Mr. Gladstone, succeeded also to his faith in the oracle of fortifications, or perhaps remembered that Captain Denison's brother had expended thirty thousand pounds in fighting Liverpool in the first Reform election, and at once confirmed his predecessor's selection. And here commences *Varieties of Vice-Regal Life*. The book is made up of three separate ingredients, which however are not always sufficiently distinguished:—1, Sir William Denison's minutes, and public and private letters; 2, Lady Denison's letters and journals; and 3, when the young lady became old enough, the letters of their eldest daughter. Considerable variety is thus imparted to what would otherwise perhaps have been occasionally tedious, and had we only been favoured with a sprinkling of the correspondence of a certain old maid-servant called Spreadborough, of whom frequent mention is made, we should have had a sort of vice-regal colonial Humphrey Clinker.

In Tasmania, Captain Denison's principal difficulties were created by the indiscretion or the irresolution of the Home Government. At this time transportation had been in full and uninterrupted force for half a century, and had entailed peculiarities in the warp and woof of Australian society which required very delicate manipulation by the Governor and his household. Sir William and Lady Denison were admirably suited for work of this nature, and had attained a considerable degree of popularity when an occasion arose which compelled him to make some remarks to the Secretary of State "on the general character of society" in the colony. The letter was marked *confidential*, but no attention was paid to the heading, and the whole was remorselessly printed in a Parliamentary blue-book. The effect may be imagined, and no better proof can be afforded of the respect and confidence which the Governor's honesty and kindness had inspired than the fact that he completely lived down the unpopularity which this unlucky *contretemps* produced. Then, again, Smith O'Brien, Meagher of the Sword, and the other heroes of the cabbage-garden were consigned to Sir William's safe keeping, with instructions so studiously vague that the Minister, under any circumstances, would be able to take credit or throw off blame according to the course events might take. Smith O'Brien, in the absence of sense of any other kind, was happily gifted with a sense of honour, and refused to bind himself by any sort of promise not to escape. He was sent to an island in the harbour, where he had a cottage to himself, with nothing to do except to lounge about within certain liberal limits, and show himself at intervals to the superintendent in charge. This mild description of martyrdom must have been deeply disappointing to him, but he mustered courage to describe himself in a letter to his friend of The Sword as being "oppressed, ill-used, and murdered by the tyrant Denison." Keats makes his "murdered man ride past fair Florence," and in the same way this deceased patriot was able to bribe his superintendent, and, by the agency of a priest, hired a small vessel to cruise off the islet. Unluckily "the tyrant" got wind of the affair, and set a trust-worthy constable to watch proceedings without allowing himself to be seen. We leave Sir William Denison to tell the rest:—

Well, the vessel came abreast of the island. O'Brien was walking with the officer whom he had bribed on the shore; the boat pushed off with three men, and got within twenty yards of the land. O'Brien rushed into the sea to get on board, when out came the constable with his musket; the men in the boats threw down their oars, came to land, and were walked quietly back some thirty yards into the bush. O'Brien, who had got into the boat and was trying to push off, was compelled to come out of her, a hole was knocked in her bottom, and as he refused to walk back to the station the three men who had come to rescue him were made to carry him. Was not this a most absurd termination? A boat was then sent after the vessel, and she was taken possession of.

Meagher of the Sword broke his parole without scruple, and escaped to become a leader in the Federal army. His example was followed by MacManus, though not under circumstances of anything like equal infamy; the Judges of the Supreme Court

having in their wisdom decided that his detention was in a certain sense illegal, inasmuch as they had evidence to show that he had been sentenced to death, but none that the sentence had been commuted. He was, therefore, in the eye of the law to be considered as hanged until proof to the contrary could be produced.

In 1854 Sir William was removed to the higher government of New South Wales, a phase of vice-regal variety over which we have no space to dwell, although a pleasant episode of a visit to Norfolk Island for the settlement of the descendants of the mutineers of the *Bounty* would afford ample justification for lingering. We must hurry on, however, to 1860, when he was nominated to the still higher post of Governor of the Presidency of Madras, only stopping to remark that we have no information as to the share of the Inspector of Fortifications in either of these promotions. In Australia he had the good fortune to be measured against the recollection or the rivalry of very ordinary men. Indeed the only one among his predecessors in that region whom we can at present call to mind is that Lachlan Macquarie whose mania for having every novelty, animate or inanimate, named after him, was so ridiculously intense that when a new bed-bug of a deeper red than the common variety was detected by a local savant, the fortunate discoverer, who had contented himself by calling it *Cimex gloriosus*, *vel superbus*, *vel militaris*, was compelled, by witnessing the unhappy expression on the Governor's face, to add the crowning epithet *vel Macquariensis*! In India, on the contrary, Sir William had to be weighed against the recollections of a host of great men passed away, and to find himself immediately confronted in the sister Presidencies with the chivalrous George Clerk, whose bright career, extending over some five-and-thirty years in the East, had just culminated in being appointed Governor of Bombay for the second time; and with Lord Canning, whose great qualities, most rare and peculiar in their nature, seemed expressly formed to stem the torrent of the mutiny, or perhaps rather to smooth the troubled waters which it left behind. In his own Presidency he was the fourth Governor in less than three years. The long and languid rule of Lord Harris had come to an end in 1859, and had been succeeded by the brief and troubled episode of the reign of Sir Charles Trevelyan. Sir Charles had been made to give place prematurely to Sir Henry Ward, who in some three months had been hurried to the grave by the effects of malaria generated in the stagnant and festering puddles which his predecessor had constructed as ornamental waters.

Sir William Denison and his family landed at Madras at the end of February, 1861, and some pleasant letters are given descriptive of their first impressions of this strange and striking scene, the novelty of which had hardly worn off when a curious instance was afforded of the marvellous self-confidence which nine years of successful vice-regal life is calculated to generate even in a sober mind. In less than a fortnight Sir William had determined one of the most puzzling problems known to Indian administrators—the precise amount of military force required for the whole vast and varied country between the Indus and Cape Comorin, and had proceeded to urge his views on the Governor-General who had weathered the mutiny. Besides the amusing audacity of laying down the law on such a subject at all, his letter of the 8th of March contains the following curious statement. He feels certain that "the total strength necessary need not exceed one hundred and fifty thousand men. I have Sir Patrick Grant's authority for saying that the force applied for by Bombay is far in excess of the wants of that part of India, and I have my own positive conviction that the amount stated by Sir Patrick Grant as necessary for Madras is far in excess of our wants." Now Sir Patrick Grant was Commander-in-Chief of the Madras army, and had recently returned from a minute survey of every station in the Peninsula and British Burmah. With the Bombay Presidency, on the other hand, we believe he was hardly at all acquainted. Nevertheless Sir William, after a few days' study, has no hesitation in pooh-poohing the views of Sir Patrick Grant on the subject of Madras, which he had specially studied; while on the subject of Bombay, regarding which he was comparatively ignorant, he considers a casual remark of this same Sir Patrick Grant to be of greater weight than the carefully studied opinions of Sir George Clerk and the other authorities of that Presidency. This quite prepared us for a second letter of Sir William's, written within six weeks of his landing, in which he lays especial stress on the necessity of amalgamating the native armies of the three Presidencies. Lord Canning quietly wrote in the margin:—"The rivalries and jealousies of the three armies have been shown to have their use. Would the same spirit of wholesome antagonism to the mutinous Bengal army, which animated the armies of Madras and Bombay in 1857, have shown itself so readily if all had been taught to consider themselves of one army? Nobody will say so.—CANNING." The truth of these wise words is so obvious that it is surprising they had not the effect of inducing Sir William to withdraw the crude and ill-considered observations which elicited them. The writer, however, still remains unconvinced, for after a lapse of nine years he appends the counter remark that "this antagonism is principally a matter of feeling among the officers;" from which we are led to infer that Sir William continues to know as little about the subject as when, after a fortnight's residence, he considered himself competent to lecture Lord Canning regarding it.

When matters are brought forward on which Sir William's previous experience had some real bearing, the observations which they call forth are indeed different in value. We would more par-

ticularly refer to an excellent letter to Lord Elgin on the subject of Anglo-Indian colonization:—

There is no attempt at colonization properly so called; the English capitalists who invested their money in indigo and coffee plantations were in no proper sense of the word colonists, but merely men seeking a profitable investment for the money lying dead on their hands. The bait held out to attract the Government was the idea that, by giving to such persons facilities for the investment of capital in these undertakings, a nucleus would be formed round which might be gathered an European population, a population on whom dependence might be placed in case of any difficulty or outbreak like that of 1857. I questioned the wisdom of this policy, for I could not shut my eyes to the fact that these detached plantations would be an element of weakness, and not of strength; that instead of helping the Government, and banding together to maintain themselves, the Government would have to detach troops to protect them from insult. It is true that the introduction of European capital into a country like India, where money is dear, would be a great advantage, and the active brain of the European would also be of use; as soon, however, as the owners of capital and brains congregated together there is a tendency, among Englishmen, to corporate action; and this in India, and other countries analogously situated, shows itself, not in joint exertions for the improvement of the district, but in pressing upon the Government claims for special consideration; for large outlays of money from the general revenue for making roads, &c., and for diminished payment of rent or land assessment.

In the midst of his vice-regal cares Sir William was fortunate enough to find leisure to write, and print and publish, an elaborate refutation of the erroneous doctrines which he discovered in *Essays and Reviews*. We are not aware that the work was considered to be very convincing beyond the walls of the Government House Compound, and we are inclined to think that the time might have been better bestowed in the study of the habits and history of the people over whom he was called to rule. He would not then perhaps have spoken of races of men called Swats and Boneirs, or of a *Kanee* going on pilgrimage to Mecca; still less would he have sneered at Sir Thomas Munro, perhaps the very greatest Englishman that ever went to India, as a "small" man, of whom "I have" a statue "which blocks up a crowded thoroughfare." Above all he would have thought twice before he printed (what will be read with pain by many a native gentleman) that he considered the people of India to be "sneaking abject slaves," "cowards, and consequently liars, without hesitation, in fact instinctively," "the cowardly Hindoos who have made for themselves the bed on which they have been lying for some two thousand years."

In spite of all drawbacks, however, we feel bound to say that an honest book has seldom been written, and that no one can rise from its perusal without a hearty feeling of respect for Sir William Denison and his family.

GERMAN LITERATURE.

THE present age is in some respects emphatically the age of historical literature. Historical criticism may almost be said to have been invented in our times; the immense and indispensable stores of public archives and private correspondence were practically non-existent for former generations. It may be questioned, however, whether this opulence of the raw material of history is conducive to the literary immortality of historians. The vast unmanageable mass has introduced a fresh element of difficulty into a task already difficult enough. The new conditions imposed upon the writer are at present all but incompatible with the polish, the proportion, above all the brevity, absolutely essential to the perpetuity of literary renown. Gibbon will always be read, for his marvellous power of condensation represents and supersedes entire libraries. Macaulay, luckily for his fame, left his history a fragment; but does any one suppose that posterity, with interests of its own to occupy it, and contemporary claimants besieging its ear, will ever have time to peruse Mr. Froude's twelve volumes? They may be consulted, they cannot be read. The historians of this age will, we fear, have to resign themselves to the office of collectors and sifters of material for those of the coming generation, who will enter abundantly into their labours. It is, therefore, very satisfactory when we find an eminent historical writer able to accomplish sound work on a small scale, which may or may not be destined to achieve a permanent place in literature on its own merits, but will at all events not fail in the struggle for existence by its own mere bulk, like the ancient mammoths and megatheriums. Dr. Pauli* would seem to have kept such considerations before him more steadily than most of his contemporaries. His brevity is imputable to anything rather than want of industry, yet his works are never immoderately long. Least of all is this the case with the elegant volume of essays on English history which we have recently received from him, a graceful supplement to more important work. He has been fortunate in his selection of episodes from the eventful and picturesque annals of our country. The Black Prince and Richard III. are the subjects of two succinct and admirable studies. These are figures of the past; but the influence of Henry VIII. is still felt in our political and ecclesiastical system, and recent discussions and discoveries have rekindled the warmest interest in his policy and character. These form the subject of one of Dr. Pauli's essays; another treats of Henry's relations with the Emperor Maximilian, and his pretensions to the Imperial crown. Dr. Pauli appears to us to have formed a very candid estimate of Henry's character; he is too cool to be swayed by the gusty partisanship of Mr. Froude; while on the other hand, as a German critic, he is naturally far above the distorting atmosphere of the *odium*

theologicum. He fully admits Henry's great qualities, but pronounces him utterly devoid of all the finer and nobler traits of character. The substance of another exceedingly interesting essay, that on Sir Peter Carew, is derived from the recently published Carew Papers. A discriminating and appreciative memoir of Canning evinces Dr. Pauli's capacity for the treatment of modern politics; and the volume is fitly closed by a eulogy, equally remote from frigidity and adulation, on the late Prince Consort.

"The German Republicans under the French Republic," by Jakob Venedey*, owes its unquestionable interest rather to the charm of the subject than to the skill of the author, being disjointed in construction and interjectional in style. It is too much composed under the influence of personal feeling, the writer's father having been one of the interesting but unfortunate body of men whose proceedings it narrates—men involved from the first in a false position, from which it was almost impossible for them to extricate themselves with credit. If there was any country in Europe where the first brilliant promise of the French Revolution might justifiably be hailed with exultation, it was prince-ridden and priest-ridden Catholic Germany. The best culture and noblest aspirations of the country eagerly sided with what seemed the cause of liberty, only to find themselves confronted with the formidable and indeed insoluble problem how to become free without ceasing to be Germans. It is hard to conceive a more cruel dilemma than that in which George Forster and his friends found themselves involved—to return to the intolerable corruption and stagnation of the old system, or to merge their nationality in that of France, and become identified with the atrocities of the Reign of Terror. They chose the latter course, the folly and mischief of which experience soon rendered palpable; yet it may be questioned whether it had not become actually inevitable. The most interesting part of Herr Venedey's book is his narrative of the proceedings of Forster and his colleagues at Mayence during the first French occupation, and of the unhappy and inglorious mission of Forster and Lux to Paris as representatives of the newly incorporated department of the Republic. The latter half of his work, which treats principally of the transactions at Coblenz some years later, in which his father played an important part, is less interesting, not on account of a less dramatic character of the incidents themselves, but from the loss of the romance and enthusiasm attaching to the early days of the French Republic. Herr Venedey's history concludes dramatically enough with the discovery of the German republicans that they had been working for the Empire, which dispelled their last illusions. As a judge of the persons and events he describes, he appears to us to have held the balance very fairly; to have combined a strict adherence to truth with a generous construction of motives; and to have reconciled filial piety with the sentiments of a patriotic German. He is by no means reserved or fastidious in his expressions of opinion; his verdict on Goethe is best given in his own words:—"Goethe war bei der reichsten geistigen Begabung ein herzensarmer Mann."

One of the ablest and most popular of modern German authors has written the biography of a statesman whose influence upon the politics of Southern Germany was very considerable, and whose character is likely to form a subject of controversy for some time to come. Gustav Freytag† was an old friend of the late Karl Mathy, and his evidence in Mathy's favour must be received as that of a partial witness. It certainly wants no recommendation which it is in the power of practised literary skill to supply. The great question involving Mathy's personal reputation is as to the motives which induced him, after having long figured as a leader of the Liberal party in Baden, and having been obliged to exile himself on that account, to desert his old associates and go over to the authorities during the disturbances of 1848. According to one view he was actuated by disgust at the violence of the extreme Democrats; his old allies regarded him in the light of a mercenary renegade. To judge from Freytag's picture of him, after making due allowance for its warmth of colouring, either alternative would appear admissible. Mathy would seem to have possessed a cool, hard head, a great capacity for business, and a practical turn which might easily take the bent either of an impatience of disorder or of a susceptibility to considerations of personal interest. Whatever his motives, he experienced the usual fate of deserters in being discarded when his services were no longer required. Compelled to support himself in a private station, he displayed remarkable energy in his struggle with the world until 1862, when the adoption of a more liberal system of policy in Baden procured his recall, and he soon re-entered the Ministry. In this capacity he played a highly important part, being distinguished as the leading advocate of the Prussian alliance, and in all probability the mainspring of the line of policy followed by Baden during and since the war of 1866. From Herr Freytag's Prussian point of view, this course of action naturally constitutes Mathy's chief claim upon the public gratitude; it will of course be differently judged in South Germany. He died in January, 1868. As a public man Mathy's abilities were undoubted, although he was too deficient in imagination to conceive great principles or initiate great movements. He was a statesman of the type best adapted for constitutional

* *Die deutschen Republikaner unter der französischen Republik*. Mit Benutzung der Aufzeichnungen seines Vaters Michel Venedey, dargestellt von Jakob Venedey. Leipzig: Brockhaus. London: Nutt.

† *Karl Mathy. Geschichte seines Lebens*. Von Gustav Freytag. Leipzig: Hirzel. London: Nutt.

* *Aufsätze zur englischen Geschichte*. Von Reinhold Pauli. Leipzig: Hirzel. London: Williams & Norgate.

monarchies in quiet times—hard, dry, positive, utilitarian, with an especial aptitude for financial questions; as remote from the temperament of the typical revolutionist as possible, and therefore the more excusable for his change of party. As a literary performance Freytag's biography is masterly. The driest subjects are rendered interesting, and the pages which treat of amusing topics, such as Mathy's adventures during his exile in Switzerland, are amusing indeed.

Professor W. Müller's "Political History of the Present Time,"* for 1868, is almost entirely devoted to German politics, and in particular to those of South Germany. On the turn these may take, he says, the welfare of the Fatherland mainly depends. In other words, Southern Germany must enter the North German Confederation. This view is maintained in too exclusive a spirit to entitle the book to a higher character than that of a party pamphlet, which is, however, of considerable value to the student of contemporary history from its exact chronology and copious references to incidents liable to pass out of recollection.

Experience has usually hitherto been regarded as showing that the offensive power of Russia is far from corresponding to her immense capacity for resistance. If we may believe an anonymous writer†—evidently, however, a military man, with access to official sources of information—this state of things will not exist in the future. The last fifteen years have notoriously been an era of military reorganization all over the civilized world; but no army, he asserts, has been so thoroughly remodelled as the Russian. He then proceeds to explain the present system fully, and yet concisely, in a very lucid style. Every point appears to be touched upon—the strength of the force, its constitution, recruitment, distribution, the organization of the War Office, the tone of military circles, military education, hospitals, weapons, fortifications. If genuine, as to all appearance is the case, this information will be highly valuable to the military men of other countries. They will make allowance for the writer's intense prepossession in favour of all things Russian, and may be inclined to smile at such assertions as that the new Russian artillery is the best in the world, considering that it has never yet been tested in an actual campaign. The writer is also too patriotic to allow anything for the administrative incompetence and dishonesty which have already ruined many fine Russian armies, and may ruin many more.

Bosnia and Slavonia are such unknown lands to Europe in general that we ought to be thankful to any traveller who will make them the subject of so thorough an investigation as Herr Maurer‡ has done. The very circumstance, however, which so enhances the value of his explorations militates against their attractiveness for the general reader, who is fatigued by the repetition of barbarous names, and discouraged by the general want of connexion with any subject in which he has learned to take an interest. The fault is not in the author, whose style is animated and entertaining, and who shows himself able to make the most of such really attractive subjects as the colony of Spanish Jews so strangely located in Bosnia, and the character of the foreign adventurers in the Turkish service. His account of Vienna is also well worth reading. Though a North German, he is highly favourable to the Austrians, and strongly condemns the manner in which Austrian men of science and of letters are ignored in the rest of Germany. His account of Bosnia is the picture of a land of great natural capabilities almost wholly unimproved. The attempts of the Turks to develop the resources of the country do not seem to have been very successful, on account of their own inexperience and the dishonesty of the Europeans whom they are obliged to employ.

Dr. Moritz Wagner§ was despatched on a scientific mission to Central America, by the late King of Bavaria, so long since as 1856. The districts to which his attention was principally devoted were Costa Rica and Veragua; he subsequently visited Ecuador. The difficulties attending the exploration of such regions may account for the somewhat disappointing result of his labours. Some interesting information on zoology, botany, and geology will no doubt be found in his pages, but not enough to compare favourably with the collections of other scientific travellers in America. On unscientific subjects the book is nearly a blank. Some references to the Darwinian theory will be found in it. The writer warmly supports the doctrine of transmutation of species, while opposing the acknowledgment of natural selection as the *modus operandi*.

Oscar Peschel's essays in physical geography|| possess high scientific value, while ranking among the fairy tales of science from the nature of the subject and the attractiveness of the style. They chiefly relate to the changes effected in the aspect of the earth by the forces of nature—the rising and sinking of continents, the advance and retreat of oceans, the erosion of fiords, the deposits of deltas, the rending away of islands, and in general the agencies and processes by which geographical modifications are effected in our globe.

* *Politische Geschichte der Gegenwart*. Von W. Müller. Berlin: Springer. London: Nutt.

† *Die Heersmacht Russlands, ihre Neugestaltung und politische Bedeutung*. Von * *. Berlin: Duncker. London: Williams & Norgate.

‡ *Eine Reise durch Bosnien, die Savcländer und Ungarn*. Von Franz Maurer. Berlin: Heymann. London: Williams & Norgate.

§ *Naturwissenschaftliche Reisen in tropischen Amerika*. Von Dr. Moritz Wagner. Stuttgart: Cotta. London: Nutt.

|| *Neue Probleme der vergleichenden Erdkunde*. Von Oscar Peschel. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot. London: Nutt.

A work on the elevation of the female sex by a lady enjoying Madame Lewald's* reputation for strength of mind may at first seem a little formidable, but is in reality a rational and reasonable production. Public opinion in this department is so backward in Germany that the effort for feminine improvement has as yet no chance of degenerating into a crusade for feminine emancipation. Madame Lewald's remarks are sensible and to the point, and deal principally with questions long since determined in her favour by the sound sense of this country, such as the necessity of enabling single women to earn their bread in other ways than as governesses, and of a thorough reform in middle-class female education. More debateable points are scarcely touched upon; the question, so far as she carries it, is not one between two conflicting schools of argument, but of argument *versus* an immense mass of antiquated and irrational prejudice, which admits of being generally summed up in the proposition that a woman is degraded by doing anything for herself. Madame Lewald gives numerous examples of the operation of this feeling throughout all the grades of society. One of the most curious is derived from her own experience. Long after she was earning a comfortable subsistence by her pen, her father allowed it to be supposed that he was supporting her, to avoid the discredit which would otherwise have attached to her and her family. The contest between common sense and sentimentality of this sort cannot be doubtful; and we look with considerable confidence to the domestic instincts, the simple purity, the genuine *Weiblichkeit* of the great majority of German women to prevent the extravagances which have discredited similar movements in some other countries.

The title of Dr. Julius Dub's useful contribution to the literature of the Darwinian theory† is hardly just to the author himself. His work is by no means, as might be inferred, a mere abridgment of Darwin's treatise, but is rather a thorough re-writing of the latter, with no omissions of importance, but, on the contrary, considerable expansion where greater fullness of detail has appeared desirable. The object is to supply an adequate account of the theory for those who find Mr. Darwin's own style too subtle, or who are not sufficiently prepared by preliminary knowledge to follow the progress of his argument. For such readers Dr. Dub's *rifacimento* is calculated to be exceedingly useful. The beauty of style, and the more intimate charm of intercourse with the author on the simple and amicable footing which the reader of the *Origin of Species* is invited to assume, are necessarily absent. An appendix contains notices of the principal supporters and antagonists of the theory in Germany. Some observations on the doctrine of spontaneous generation seem rather crude, and might have been withheld until the appearance of Dr. Bastian's promised work on that subject.

Compendiums of information on the subject of Mormonism are already numerous. Dr. Busch's‡ is probably one of the best. To the advantage of a long residence in America he adds that of an extensive acquaintance with what we may call the deuterocanonical literature of the Mormons, chiefly extant in their periodicals. This field has in general been inadequately worked, writers having been in general content to tell over again the old stories of Joseph Smith and the golden plates, of the Mormon emigration, and of Mormon polygamy. Dr. Busch's information on all these points is copious and very agreeably conveyed.

The philological importance of a lexicon to Luther's vernacular writings§ requires no comment, and the name of Dr. Dietz is a sufficient guarantee for the able execution of a very laborious task. The references to passages in which the words to be explained occur are very copious, the passages are quoted at great length, and a mere cursory inspection of the pages of the dictionary serves to convey a vivid idea of the energy, animation, and opulence of Luther's diction, as well as of his frequent virulence and coarseness. The work is preceded by a preface treating of the peculiarities of Luther's language, and enforcing the necessity of the present attempt from the deficiencies of even such a work as Grimm's Dictionary. There is also a full account of the editions consulted, which nearly amounts to a bibliography of the earlier editions of Luther's writings.

A biography of Luther, by the late Dr. Schultz||, is a fair compendium of the subject from the modern Lutheran point of view, but presents no feature of especial importance.

The first volume of R. Zimmermann's *Studien und Kritiken*¶ is devoted to philosophical essays, distinguished in general by sobriety and impartiality of tone. The most remarkable are those on Pherecydes of Scyros, for whom the writer claims the distinction of founder of Grecian philosophy; on "the fundamental logical error of Spinoza's ethics"; on Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa, whom Herr Zimmermann styles the precursor of Leibnitz, and whose liberality of thought is really surprising for his age; and

* *Für und wider die Frauen*. Vierzehn Briefe von Fanny Lewald. Berlin: Junke. London: Williams & Norgate.

† *Kurze Darstellung der Lehre Darwin's*. Von Dr. Julius Dub. Stuttgart: Schweizerbart. London: Williams & Norgate.

‡ *Geschichte der Mormonen, nebst einer Darstellung ihres Glaubens und ihrer gegenwärtigen sozialen und politischen Verhältnisse*. Von Dr. Moritz Busch. Leipzig: Abel. London: Williams & Norgate.

§ *Wörterbuch zu Dr. Martin Luther's deutschen Schriften*. Von Ph. Dietz. Bd. I. Leipzig: Vogel. London: Nutt.

|| *Luther's Leben und Wirken*. Von E. C. F. Schultz. Berlin: Hertz. London: Williams & Norgate.

¶ *Studien und Kritiken zur Philosophie und Aesthetik*. Von Robert Zimmermann. 2 Bde. Wien: Braumüller. London: Williams & Norgate.

on the philosophy of Schiller. The second volume contains literary and æsthetic essays, which are in general very fair examples of the philosophical method of criticism prevalent in Germany. Out of Germany those are most likely to be relished which contain the most information upon matters of fact. To this class belongs an interesting history of the modern Austrian drama, comprising an account of Grillparzer, known in England by excellent translations in *Blackwood*, and by the caustic and unduly disparaging criticism of Mr. Carlyle. A review of Hebbel's works is also very interesting. The most readable of the æsthetic papers is a description of the temples of Pæstum, from personal observation.

R. Genée's history of the Shakspearean drama in Germany* is a valuable and an interesting work, thorough and comprehensive, yet not overloaded with material. In the first chapters, treating of the troops of English actors who perambulated Germany at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and of the first faint dawnings of a Shakspearean influence in the country, the writer is chiefly indebted to the exhaustive labours of Herr Adolph Cohn. His account of the great controversy between Lessing and Göttsche, which resulted in the enthronement of Shakspeare on the ruins of the French school, is very full and entertaining; we have only to regret that this department of the work concludes with "the complete appropriation" of Shakspeare by the Germans through the medium of Tieck and Schlegel's version, and that nothing is said respecting the subsequent fortunes of his works upon the stage. The larger portion of the treatise is occupied by an analysis of the various dramas which have been founded upon Shakspeare, and the principal alterations and adaptations they have undergone—a curious contribution to the history of literary taste.

"By the Grace of God,"† a romance of the period of the English Commonwealth, by Julius Rodenberg, is broadly distinguished from the general run of German novels by the remarkable finish and elegance of the style. Every page bears the impress of a highly cultivated mind. It is, moreover, excellent as a story, the characters are well drawn, and the English reader will not be offended or amused by any such gross exhibitions of ignorance in English matters as are encountered in Victor Hugo. The historical and domestic elements of interest are ably combined, and there should be no impediment to its popularity in this country except its length, which certainly appears inordinate when tried by our customary standard.

Schloss Hrawodor‡, a novel of modern society, belongs to a different and inferior grade of fiction, but is also a good specimen of its class. Without any great literary pretensions, it is lively and entertaining throughout.

* *Geschichte der Shakspeare'schen Dramen in Deutschland*. Von Rudolph Genée. Leipzig: Engelmann. London: Williams & Norgate.

† *Von Gottes Gnaden. Ein Roman aus Cromwell's Zeit*. Von Julius Rodenberg. 5 Bde. Berlin: Gerschel. London: Nutt.

‡ *Schloss Hrawodor. Roman*. Von R. E. Hahn. 3 Bde. Berlin: Decker. London: Williams & Norgate.

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THE CHEVALIER ANTOINE DE KONTSKI.—In

consequence of the brilliant reception obtained by this distinguished Pianist at the recent Saturday Concerts, he has been engaged to appear at each of the Afternoon Ballad Concerts, to be given on Saturdays, April 23, May 7, and May 21. The Chevalier de Kontski will perform pieces by Chopin, Thalberg, and Liszt, in addition to some of his own newest compositions.—Tickets of Boosey & Co., Holles Street.

THE SOCIETY OF PAINTERS in WATER-COLOURS.—

THE SIXTY-SIXTH ANNUAL EXHIBITION will OPEN on Monday, April 23, at their Gallery, 5 Pall Mall East. From Nine till Seven.

WILLIAM CALLOW, Secretary.

FRENCH GALLERY, 120 Pall Mall.—The SEVENTEENTH

ANNUAL EXHIBITION OF PICTURES, the Contributions of Artists of the French and Flemish Schools, is NOW OPEN.—Admission, 1s.; Catalogue, 6d.

SIXTH EXHIBITION OF HIGH-CLASS WATER-COLOUR

DRAWINGS is NOW OPEN at Mr. ARTHUR TOOTH'S GALLERY, 5 Haymarket (opposite Her Majesty's Theatre), from Ten till Six.—Admission, 1s. (Catalogue included).

DORÉ GALLERY.—GUSTAVE DORÉ, 35 New Bond Street.

EXHIBITION OF PICTURES (including "TRIUMPH OF CHRISTIANITY," "FRANCISCA DE RIMINI," &c.), at the New Gallery. Open Ten to Six.—Admission, 1s.

WILL CLOSE APRIL 19.

ELIJAH WALTON'S ALPINE and EGYPTIAN

PICTURES.—The WINTER EXHIBITION NOW OPEN at the Pall Mall Gallery, 48 Pall Mall (Mr. W. M. Thompson's). Admission, 1s.—From Ten till Six.

THE FRESCOES OF MICHAEL ANGELO in the SIXTINE

CHAPEL at ROME.—The permanent FACSIMILES of these Marvellous Works ON VIEW daily, from Twelve till Five, at the Gallery of the Autotype Company (Limited), 31 Rathbone Place, Oxford Street (Next Door to Winsor & Newton's).

THE NATIONAL PICTURE of the QUEEN, in her Robes,

Size of Life, by LOWES DICKINSON (Painted by Command), ON VIEW, from Ten till Six, at Messrs. Dickinson's Galleries, 111 New Bond Street.—Admission by Address Card.

INDIA MUSEUM, India Office, S.W., April 2, 1870.—NOTICE

is hereby Given that, on and after Monday, the 4th inst., the India Museum will be OPENED as follows, viz.:—To the General Public on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Saturday in each Week; and on Thursdays to Visitors with Special Cards from Members of the Council of India, and Heads of Departments in the India Office. Entrance in Charles Street. Admission from Noon until Four P.M. from 1st October to 30th April, and until Five P.M. from 1st May to 30th September.

Visitors to the India Office on Fridays are also admitted to the Museum through the Office.

J. FORBES WATSON.

ROYAL LITERARY FUND.—The EIGHTY-FIRST

ANNIVERSARY DINNER of the Corporation will take place in Willis's Rooms on Wednesday, May 11; the Right Hon. Lord DUFFERIN and CLANDEBOYE, K.P., in the Chair.—The Stewards will be announced in future Advertisements.

4 Adelphi Terrace, W.C.

OCTAVIAN BLEWITT, Secretary.

ALEXANDRA ORPHANAGE for INFANTS, Hornsey Rise

near Highgate, N. Under the immediate Patronage of their R.H. the PRINCE and PRINCESS OF WALES, Her Royal Highness the CROWN PRINCESS OF PRUSSIA, &c. &c. &c.

This Charity is intended for 400 Infants. There is at present Accommodation for 200, but only 100 can be received for want of Funds. The New Buildings are only partly finished. The Plan is much admired, as, instead of the erection of a palace, a series of Cottages have been erected, each to hold 25 Infants with their Nurses. The Charity has no Funded Property, is deeply in Debt, and depends wholly upon the benevolence of the Charitable. No Wages are paid but to the Household. All other Services are gratuitous.

Contributions will be thankfully received at the London and County Bank, Lombard Street; or at the Offices of the Charity.

JOHN SOUL, Hon. Sec.

THE HOSPITAL for WOMEN, Soho Square.—Established

1842, for the Reception of Patients from all parts of the United Kingdom and the Colonies. The Committee APPEAL for HELP, that they may maintain the efficiency of this National Institution, which is entirely dependent upon Voluntary Contributions. Every Bed is occupied in the Free Department of the Hospital, and many Patients are waiting for admission. The New Wing is now open for the reception of Gentlewomen, who, by a payment of One Guinea a Week, can obtain all the advantages of Hospital treatment, combined with the Privacy and Comfort of Home.

Bankers.—Messrs. BARCLAY, BEVAN, & CO., Messrs. RANSOM, BOURVILLÉ, & CO.

HENRY B. INGRAM, Secretary.

GREAT NORTHERN HOSPITAL, Caledonian Road, N.—

FUNDS urgently NEEDED. Accidents often refused for want of Beds. F. SMITH, Esq., Hon. Secretary. GEORGE REID, Secretary.

ROYAL HOSPITAL for DISEASES of the CHEST, City

Road.—ASSISTANCE is greatly needed to meet the heavy current Expenses of the Hospital. Bankers.—GLYN & CO.

CHARLES L. KEMP, Secretary.

CHARING-CROSS HOSPITAL, West Strand, W.C.—The

Governors earnestly APPEAL for FUNDS, the Expenses being particularly heavy during the Winter Season.

HENRY WOOLCOTT, Secretary.

DENMAN'S GREEK WINES, 20 Piccadilly.—Pamphlet

Price 1d. List free on application. Cases of Six Red and Six White Wines, 41 11s. 6d.

PICTURES, BRONZES, and WORKS of ART on SALE at 39 Southampton Street, Strand. Pictures Cleaned, Lined, and Restored, if in the worst condition. Frames Cleaned or Regilt equal to New. Sales attended on Commission.

CHARLES DEAR, 39 Southampton Street, Strand.

ARTISTS' GENERAL BENEVOLENT INSTITUTION.

Incorporated by Royal Charter, for the Relief of Distressed Artists, their Widows and Orphans.

President.—Sir FRANCIS GRANT, P.R.A.

The FIFTY-FIFTH ANNUAL FESTIVAL, in aid of the Funds of this Charity, will take place on Saturday, the 7th of May, in Willis's Rooms, St. James's, at Six o'clock.

His Grace the Duke of ARGYLL in the Chair.

Stewards.

William Agnew, Esq.
F. B. Barrell, Esq.
Robert W. Edin, Esq.
Henry Evans, Esq.
W. P. Frith, Esq., R.A.
Henry Graves, Esq.
J. P. Heseltine, Esq.
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Marcus Stone, Esq.
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* Tickets, including Wines, One Guinea; to be had of the Stewards, and the Assistant-Secretary, from whom all particulars relating to the Institution may be obtained.

24 Old Bond Street, W.

JOHN EVERETT MILLAIS, R.A., Hon. Sec.
FREDERIC W. MAYNARD, Assistant-Secretary.

ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-NINTH ANNIVERSARY

of the SOCIETY for the PROPAGATION of the GOSPEL in FOREIGN PARTS. A SPECIAL SERVICE will be held under the Dome of St. Paul's Cathedral on Sunday Evening, the 24th instant, commencing at Seven o'clock. The Sermon will be preached by the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of COLOMBO, who is on the point of leaving for Ceylon. A limited number of Tickets for Reserved Seats may be obtained on application at the Society's Offices only, 5 Park Place, St. James's Street, S.W., on and after the 19th instant. The ANNUAL MEETING will be held at St. James's Hall on Thursday, April 21. His Grace the Archbishop of YORK will take the Chair, and be supported by the Lord Bishop of WINCHESTER, C. RAIBLE, Esq., C.S.I., Rev. ALFRED BARRY, D.D., and others, whose names will be announced. The Doors will be opened at Two o'clock, and the Meeting will commence at Half-past Two. Tickets (free) may be had on and after the 19th inst. at the Offices of the Society, 5 Park Place, St. James's Street, S.W.; the Depot of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 4 Royal Exchange, E.C.; and of Messrs. Bivingtons', Waterloo Place, S.W.; Messrs. Hatchard's, 187 Piccadilly, W.; Mr. T. W. Key's, 7 Bishop's Road, Westbourne Terrace, W.; the Misses Warren's, 1 Edward Terrace, Kensington Road, W.; Mr. Meadows's, 8 Fulham Road, S.W.; Mr. Hayer's, 5 Lyall Place, Eaton Square, S.W.; Mr. Griffiths's, Post Office, Camberwell Green, S.E.; and Mrs. Deane's, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge Depot, Hill Street, Richmond, S.W.

THE SUNDAY LECTURE SOCIETY.—To provide for the delivery on Sundays in the Metropolis, and to encourage the delivery elsewhere, of Lectures on Science—physical, intellectual, and moral—History, Literature, and Art; especially in their bearing upon the Improvement and Social Well-being of Mankind.

A SERIES of ELEVEN LECTURES will be given on Sunday Evenings at St. George's Hall, Langham Place, commencing Sunday Evening, April 24, 1870, at Eight o'clock precisely. Doors Open at a Quarter to Eight.

April 21.—JAMES GLAISHER, Esq., F.R.S., F.R.A.S., on "The Balloon. History of its Discovery and his experience in its application to useful and scientific researches."

May 1.—JAMES GLAISHER, Esq., F.R.S., F.R.A.S., on "Rain. How Derived. How Measured. Its Amount and Uses considered."

8.—HENRY MOODY, Esq., on "The Prevention of Infectious Diseases, illustrated by the Sanitary Measures enforced in the City of Bristol."

15.—Professor J. S. BLACKIE (Edinburgh University) on "Socrates, his Ethics and Theology."

22.—The Rev. Professor LEWIS CAMPBELL, M.A., Oxon (St. Andrew's University), on "The Ideas of the Ancient Greeks respecting Death and Immortality."

29.—KARL BLIND, Esq., on "Ancient Teutonic Mythology."

June 5.—W. B. HODGSON, Esq., LL.D., on "The Life and Times of Turgot."

12.—W. B. HODGSON, Esq., LL.D., on "The Writings of Turgot."

19.—DAVID FORBES, Esq., F.R.S., on "Volcanoes."

26.—T. SPENCER COBBOLE, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., on "Cruelty in relation to the Lower Animals."

July 3.—Rev. ALLEN D. GRAHAM, M.A., Oxon, on "Man's Cruelty to Man." Members' Annual Tickets (reserved seats), 25s. Tickets for the Series of Eleven Lectures, at reserved seats, 7s. 6d.; to the sixpenny seats, 4s.

Payment at the Door, 1s., 6d., and 3d.

Tickets to be obtained of the Hon. Treasurer, WM. HENRY DOMVILLE, Esq., 15 Gloucester Crescent, Hyde Park, London, W.; or of the Hon. Secretary, JOHN SHORR, Esq., 4 Garden Court, Temple, E.C.; and at the Hall.

INSTRUCTION IN SCIENCE AND ART FOR WOMEN.

MR. ARTHUR SULLIVAN'S LECTURES on the THEORY and PRACTICE of VOCAL MUSIC (in continuation of the Course now being delivered) will be given in the LECTURE THEATRE, at the South Kensington Museum, on Tuesdays and Fridays, at 11 A.M., commencing April 20. Tickets for the Course of Twelve Lectures, 25s.; with Practice, 31s. 6d.; Single Admissions, without Practice, 2s. 6d. each.

Persons who may wish to attend this Course of Lectures are requested to send their Names to the Hon. and Rev. FRANCIS BYNG, Treasurer, South Kensington Museum.

MISS LOUISA DREWRY'S COURSES OF HISTORY

(Ancient Greece), English Literature and Language (Milton and his period), Critical Study of English Literature (Hamlet &c.), and English Reading and Composition, will RE-COMMENCE on Monday, May 9.—13 (late 15) King Henry's Road, Upper Avenue Road, N.W.

MALVERN COLLEGE.—THE NEXT TERM will commence

on Wednesday, May 4.

TAUNTON COLLEGE SCHOOL.

President.—The Right Honourable Viscount BRIDPORT.

Head-Master.—Rev. W. TUCKWELL, M.A., late Fellow of New College, Oxford.

The SCHOOL will be REMOVED at Easter to the New Buildings, where space has been provided for a large additional number of Boarders. New Boarders will be received on Tuesday, April 20.

Information respecting the Nomination of Pupils and the Annual Competitions for Scholarships, as also the general School Prospectus, may be obtained on application to the HEAD-MASTER.

EASTBOURNE COLLEGE.

Established 1867.

President.

His Grace the DUKE of DEVONSHIRE, K.G., Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, &c. &c.

Head-Master.

The Rev. THOMPSON PODMORE, M.A., late Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford.

The ensuing Term will commence on Thursday, May 5.

For particulars apply to the Secretary, Major GARRARD, the College, Eastbourne.

EASTBOURNE COLLEGE.

(By the Seaside and Sussex Downs.)

The MILITARY and CIVIL DEPARTMENT of this College, in addition to preparation for those Services, furnishes the means of a sound General Education to BOYS not intended for the Universities.

F. T. GARRARD, Secretary.

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H.R.H. the Princess of WALES.

Visitor.—The Lord Bishop of LONDON.

Principal.—The Very Rev. the Dean of WESTMINSTER.

The COLLEGE will RE-OPEN for the Easter Term on Monday, April 20.

Individual instruction is given in Vocal and Instrumental Music to Pupils attending at least one Class. A Class in Greek, and Conversation Classes in Modern Languages, will be formed on the entry of Six Names for each Class. Pupils are received from the age of Thirteen upwards. Arrangements are made for receiving Boarders.

Prospectuses, with full particulars as to Fees, Scholarships, Classes, &c., may be had on application to Miss MILWARD, at the College Office.

E. H. PLUMPTRE, M.A., Dean.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE SCHOOL, 43 and 45 Harley Street, W.

The CLASSES will RE-OPEN for the Easter Term on Monday, April 20.

E. H. PLUMPTRE, M.A., Dean.

TRINITY COLLEGE, GLENALMOND.—THE WARDEN-

SHIP, with the Charge of both the Divinity and the Public School Departments, will be VACANT in the Summer by the Resignation of the Rev. Dr. HANNAH. The Warden must be "a Clergyman of very high character and attainments," and a Graduate of either Oxford or Cambridge. Candidates are requested to apply, by letter, marked "Trinity College," to the Honorary Secretary to the Council, WILLIAM SMYTH, Esq., of Methven, Methven Castle, near Perth.

The Residence is an excellent furnished house, connected with the College. The Election will take place on or before July 1.

DULWICH COLLEGE.—EIGHT SCHOLARSHIPS in the

Upper School, of the value of £20 a Year each, will be awarded by an EXAMINATION to be held at the College, on the 4th and 5th of May next. Candidates must be between Twelve and Fourteen Years of Age, Residents in one of the privileged Districts, or (failing qualification in those Districts) Boys of the specified Age already attending the School.

Further particulars may be obtained from the SCHOOL SECRETARY, Dulwich College, S.E.

BLACKHEATH PROPRIETARY SCHOOL.—An EX-

AMINATION will be held on June 29, and following Days, for Admission to THREE BOARDING-HOUSE SCHOLARSHIPS, tenable for Two Years open to Boys under Thirteen Years of Age, viz.: One of £20 per annum, and Two of £25 respectively, with Free Nomination in each case. They will be awarded for Proficiency either (1) in Classics, (2) in Mathematics, (3) in either Latin or Mathematics, with English, and French or German. For further information, apply to the PRINCIPAL, or to the SECRETARY, at the School.

READING, BERKS.

PREPARATORY SCHOOL for BOYS.—The Rev. W. H.

EMRA (B.A. in Classical Honours, and late Scholar of Exeter College, Oxford), with the consent and co-operation of his Sister (Mrs. H. F. FAIRBROTHER), continues to receive PUPILS, from Six years old. The House is large and comfortable, and stands high. Terms moderate. Mrs. FAIRBROTHER receives CHILDREN whose Parents are abroad in India or elsewhere. References to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Winchester; the Earl of Darlington; Longford Castle, Salisbury; the Earl Nelson, Trafalgar, Salisbury; Sir C. Russell, Bart., V.C. Swallowfield, Reading; Rev. G. G. Bradley, Head-Master of Marlborough College; Rev. J. P. Purey-Cust, Rural Dean, and Vicar of St. Mary's, Reading; G. W. King, Esq., 4 Upper Brunswick Place, Brighton, and many others.—Address, Rev. W. H. EMRA, Russell House, Reading.

PRIVATE TUITION.—GERMANY.—A MARRIED

CLERGYMAN (M.A. Cambridge, with Mathematical Honours) undertakes the Care and Education of a few PUPILS. Has at present Two, aged Fifteen and Sixteen. The best references.—Address, Rev. N. G. Wilkins, 19 Linmer Strasse, Hanover.

INDIAN TELEGRAPH, WORKS, FORESTS, HOME

CIVIL SERVICE, and ARMY.—Mr. W. M. LUPTON (Author of "English History and Arithmetic"), assisted by a Gentleman in the War Office, prepares CANDIDATES for all Departments.—Address, 15 Beaufort Buildings, Strand.

MISS MARY LEECH'S MORNING SCHOOL for YOUNG

LADIES will REOPEN Monday, May 2.—14 Radnor Place, Gloucester Square, W.

THE MISSES A. & R. LEECH'S SCHOOL (late Belgrave

Cottage) for LITTLE BOYS will REOPEN May 2.—65 Kensington Gardens Square, W.

THE Rev. ROBERT GWYNNE receives PUPILS in the

Greek, Latin, and English Classics, and in Sanscrit, Arabic, Hebrew, and Syriac. Reference to Dr. Wm. Wright, Assistant-Keeper of MSS., British Museum.—Address, 15 Arundel Street, Strand, W.C.

SCARBOROUGH.—The Rev. J. BEDFORD, M.A., late

Scholar of Linc. Coll. Oxford, and Head Classical Assistant-Master at Cheltenham School (under the present Head-Master of Rugby), receives into his House a few BOYS between the Ages of Eight and Fourteen, to prepare for the Public Schools. Prospectus, references, &c., on application. Terms, 100 Guineas a year.—The Next Quarter begins April 1.

EDUCATION.—WEST BROMPTON, S.W.—The late PRIN-

CIPAL (Married) of a Public School in connexion with the London University receives PUPILS and BOARDERS at his Residence, and prepares for Public Schools, Universities, and various Military and Civil Service Examinations.—For Terms, References, &c., address C. H. Messrs. Hatchard & Co.'s, 187 Piccadilly, W.

PRIVATE TUITION, with COMFORTABLE HOME.—A

MARRIED RECTOR, Graduate of Trin. Coll. Cam., and old Rugbeian, who, since Four Pupils has VACANCIES for his Next TERM. Classics, Mathematics, French, and thorough German. For those Pupils whose Parents desire it some Shooting, Fishing, and Standing for a Horse. Highest References given and requested.—Terms, from 150 to 200 inclusive. Two Rooms, if required.—Address, Rev. H. R. L., Holgate Rectory, Mth. Wenlock, Salop.

PRIVATE TUITION.—A GENTLEMAN is desirous of

placing his SON, aged Eighteen, with a First-class Cambridge University Tutor (reading in the Country), who would prepare him for College, and provide a comfortable Home.—Address, F. G., Post Office, 116 Camden Road, N.W., stating Terms for Twelve Months, and enclosing Testimonials.

PRIVATE TUITION for TWO PUPILS, use of Pony and

Phaeton, Fishing, &c. Terms, 100 Guineas.—Address, Rev. X. Z., care of Messrs. Terry, Stouman, & Co., 6 Hatton Garden, London, E.C.

THE Rev. T. GWYNN, M.A. (late Assistant-Master of

Marlborough College), receives TWENTY-SIX PUPILS, from Eight to Fourteen Years of age, to be prepared for Marlborough College, or of the other Public Schools. Reference is kindly permitted to the Rev. G. G. Bradley, Master of Marlborough College, and the Rev. W. W. Hastings, in the University of Oxford.—For particulars address Rev. T. GWYNN, Marlow Place, Great Marlow, Bucks.

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SERVICE. Rooms close to Charing Cross.—Apply, by letter, to M.A., care of L. Boly, Esq., 32 Essex Street, Strand.

AN OXFORD MAN, late Scholar of his College, and an old

Etonian, has a few VACANCIES for PUPILS to be prepared for Eton and other Public Schools.—Address, Rev. S. GOLDNEY, Braunton, Rugby.

A SCHOLAR of C.C.C. OXFORD will be glad to prepare

One or Two BOYS for the Public Schools or Universities during the coming Long Vacation.—Address, C.C.C., Union School, Oxford.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, London.—The PROFESSOR-

SHIP of MATHEMATICS will be VACANT at the end of the present Session, in consequence of the Resignation of Professor HIRST. Applications for the Appointment will be received up to Wednesday, May 4, at the Office of the College, where further information may be obtained.

JOHN ROBSON, B.A., Secretary to the Council.

April 12, 1870.

A CAMBRIDGE B.A., late Private Tutor in his University,

and at present Resident Tutor to a Lad who enters Harrow at Easter, wishes for a TUTORSHIP or MASTERSHIP.—Address, Z., Post Office, Aston-on-Clin, Shropshire.

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(Exclusive of Bonus Additions.)
Income—Premiums £161,381
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Further information may be obtained on application.
JOHN F. LAURENCE, Secretary.

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SPECIAL NOTICE.
The NINTH BONUS will be declared in January 1870, and all With-Profit Policies in force on June 30, 1870, will participate. Assurances effected before June 30, 1870, will participate on two Premiums, and thus receive a whole Year's additional Share of Profits over later Policies.
Forms of Proposal, Balance Sheets, and every information, can be obtained from any of the Society's Agents, or of
GEORGE CUTCLIFFE, Actuary and Secretary.
31 St. James's Square, London, S.W.

IMPERIAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY.

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The Liabilities are, in respect of Sums Assured and Bonuses, £2,750,000; and in respect of Annuities only £266 per annum.
The Assets actually invested in First-class Securities amount to £972,621.
Of the Subscribed Capital of £750,000, only £75,000 is paid up.
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ANDREW BADEN, Actuary and Manager.

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The whole invested in Government, Real, and other first-class Securities, in addition to which the Assured have the guarantee of a large and wealthy Proprietary.
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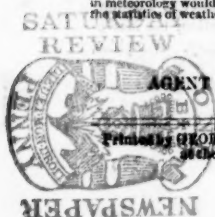
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